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THE  
HELLENIC ORATIONS

OF

DEMOSTHENES  
=

(SYMMORIES, MEGALOPOLITANS, RHODIANS)

BY

ISAAC FLAGG, PH.D.

*Professor in the Cornell University*

Τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον καὶ ξύμφορον

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## PREFACE.

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THE three Demosthenic harangues not directly concerned with the Macedonian question have been neglected by recent commentators, notwithstanding each is a masterpiece of its kind and of unique interest as regards the subject matter. The labors of the older scholars on these speeches have nowhere been worthily recast and supplemented except in the admirable work of H. Weil, *Les Harangues de Démosthène*, 1873. Though greatly indebted to the French editor, as will appear, I have derived nothing from him either immediately or by suggestion without express acknowledgment in each case, that commentary having been consulted for the first time in making the final revision of this.

Such textual peculiarities as the present edition offers are mentioned as they occur, with the exception of those merely orthographical in their nature, which are treated once for all in the foot-note on page 41. The text of Oration XV is given, in the main, with the modifications proposed by F. Blass, *Zur Textkritik des Demosthenes*, 1878 (Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, XXXIII, 504); and Orations XIV



and XVI have been revised on the same basis, as consistency required. The principles involved in the method of Blass (so far as they are new) I have found too serviceable for purposes of interpretation to be justified in ignoring the application of them to critical uses.

Weil is the first editor of Demosthenes who has attempted a rational treatment of *elision*; the one step that remains to be taken is to restore the *pause* where he has disregarded it. In Oration XIV, § 31, for example, Weil gives ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδ' Ἑλλην' οὐδέν' ἂν ἐλθεῖν ἡγοῦμαι, in place of the common text, which offers (as it happens) no elision at all; but the sense of the entire passage to which the words quoted belong shows that we should print ἐπὶ τὴν δ' Ἑλλάδα Ἑλλην' οὐδέν' ἂν ἐλθεῖν ἡγοῦμαι. An approximately correct handling of this matter, besides facilitating and encouraging the wholesome practice of reading aloud, must often help the student to a quicker perception of the Orator's meaning. As regards crasis, a similar attempt at consistent treatment in type, even if practicable, would rather tend to obscure the sense. The way of printing epic verse is analogous.

ISAAC FLAGG.

ITHACA, *March*, 1880.

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ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ



# ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ

(XIV)

## ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΤΗΜΜΟΡΙΩΝ.

ΟΙ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς προ-  
γόνους ὑμῶν λόγον εἰπεῖν μοι δοκοῦσι προαι-  
ρεῖσθαι κεχαρισμένον, οὐ μὴν συμφέροντά γ' ἐκείνοις  
οὓς ἐγκωμιάζουσι ποιεῖν· περὶ γὰρ πραγμάτων ἐγχει-  
ροῦντες λέγειν ὦν οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἀξίως ἐφικέσθαι τῷ  
λόγῳ δύναίτο, αὐτοὶ μὲν τοῦ δοκεῖν δύνασθαι λέγειν  
δόξαν ἐκφέρονται, τὴν δ' ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν ἐλάττω τῆς  
ὑπειλημμένης παρὰ τοῖς ἀκούουσι φαίνεσθαι ποιοῦσιν.  
Ἐγὼ δ' ἐκείνων μὲν ἔπαινον τὸν χρόνον ἡγοῦμαι μέ-  
γιστον, οὗ πολλοῦ γεγενημένου μείζω τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνων  
πραχθέντων οὐδένες ἄλλοι παραδείξασθαι δεδύνηνται·  
2 αὐτὸς δὲ πειράσομαι τὸν τρόπον εἰπεῖν ὃν ἂν μοι  
δοκεῖτε μάλιστα δύνασθαι παρασκευάσασθαι. Καὶ  
γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει· εἰ μὲν ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες οἱ μέλλοντες  
λέγειν δεινοὶ φανείημεν ὄντες, οὐδὲν ἂν τὰ ὑμέτερ' εὖ  
οἶδ' ὅτι βέλτιον σχοίη· εἰ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς ὅστισοῦν  
δύναίτο διδάξαι καὶ πείσαι τίς παρασκευὴ καὶ πόση  
καὶ πόθεν πορισθεῖσα χρήσιμος ἔσται τῇ πόλει, πᾶς  
ὁ παρὼν φόβος λελύσεται. Ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτ', ἂν ἄρ' οἷός

τ' ὦ, πειράσομαι ποιῆσαι, μικρὰ προειπὼν ὑμῖν ὡς ἔχω γνώμης περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

Ἐγὼ νομίζω κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλή- 3  
νων εἶναι βασιλέα, οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο παραινέσαιμ' ἂν  
μόνοις τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτὸν αἰρεῖ-  
σθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὁρῶ κοινοὺς  
ἀλλήλοις ὄντας φίλους, ἀλλ' ἐνίους μᾶλλον ἐκείνῳ  
πιστεύοντας ἢ τισιν αὐτῶν. Ἐκ δὴ τῶν τοιούτων  
νομίζω συμφέρειν ὑμῖν τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου  
ζητεῖν ὅπως ἴση καὶ δικαία γενήσεται, παρασκευά-  
ζεσθαι δ' ἃ προσήκει πάντα, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑποκεῖσθαι.  
Ἐγούμαι γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς Ἑλληνας, εἰ 4  
μὲν ἐναργές τι γίγνοιτο καὶ σαφές ὡς βασιλεὺς αὐ-  
τοῖς ἐπιχειρεῖ, καὶ συμμαχῆσαι καὶ χάριν μεγάλην  
ἔχειν τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνον ἀμυνο-  
μένοις· εἰ δ' ἔτ' ἀδήλου τούτου καθεστηκότος προ-  
απεχθησόμεθ' ἡμεῖς, δέδι', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ  
τούτοις μετ' ἐκείνου πολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθῶμεν, ὑπὲρ  
ᾧν προνοούμεθα. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπισχὼν ᾧν ὥρμηκεν, 5  
εἰ ἄρ' ἐγχειρεῖν ἔγνωκε τοῖς Ἑλλησι, χρήματα δώσει  
τισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ φιλίαν προτενεῖται, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους  
πολέμους ἐπανορθῶσαι βουλόμενοι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν  
νοῦν ἔχοντες τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων σωτηρίαν παρό-  
ψονται. Εἰς δὲ τὴν ταραχὴν ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἀγνω-  
μοσύνην παραινῶ μὴ προκαθεῖναι τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν.  
Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀπ' ἴσης ὁρῶ τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι 6  
καὶ ὑμῖν περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὴν βουλήν  
οὔσαν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνων μὲν πολλοῖς ἐνδέχεσθαι μοι δοκεῖ  
τῶν ἰδία τι συμφερόντων διοικουμένοις τῶν ἄλλων

Ἑλλήνων ἀμελήσαι, ὑμῖν δ' οὐδ' ἀδικουμένοις παρὰ  
 τῶν ἀδικούντων καλὸν ἐστὶ λαβεῖν ταύτην τὴν δίκην,  
 7 ἐᾶσαί τινας αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῷ βαρβάρῳ γενέσθαι. Ὅτε  
 δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, σκεπτέον ὅπως μήθ' ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ  
 πολέμῳ γενησόμεθ' οὐκ ἴσοι, μήτ' ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἡμῖν  
 ἐπιβουλεύειν ἡγούμεθα τοῖς Ἑλλησι, τὴν τοῦ φίλος  
 αὐτοῖς δοκεῖν εἶναι πίστιν λήψεται. Πῶς οὖν ταῦτ'  
 ἔσται; Ἄν ἡ μὲν δύναμις τῆς πόλεως ἐξητασμένη καὶ  
 παρεσκευασμένη πᾶσιν ἢ φανερά, φαίνεται δὲ δίκαια  
 8 φρονεῖν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ προαιρέσει. Τοῖς δὲ θρασυνο-  
 μένοις καὶ σφόδρ' ἐτοίμως πολεμεῖν κελεύουσιν ἐκεῖνο  
 λέγω, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι χαλεπὸν οὐθ' ὅταν βουλεύεσθαι δέῃ,  
 δόξαν ἀνδρείας λαβεῖν, οὐθ' ὅταν κίνδυνός τις ἐγγὺς  
 ᾖ, δεινὸν εἰπεῖν φανῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο καὶ χαλεπὸν καὶ  
 προσῆκον, ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν κινδύνων τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἐνδείκ-  
 νυσθαι, ἐν δὲ τῷ συμβουλεύειν φρονιμώτερα τῶν ἄλ-  
 9 λων εἰπεῖν ἔχειν. Ἐγὼ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νο-  
 μίζω τὸν μὲν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα χαλεπὸν τῇ  
 πόλει, τὸν δ' ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου συμβῆναι  
 ῥάδιον ἂν. Διὰ τί; Ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πολέμους ἅπαντας  
 ἀναγκαίως ἡγοῦμαι τριήρων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τόπων  
 δεῖσθαι, ταῦτα δὲ πάντ' ἀφθονώτερ' ἐκεῖνον ἔχονθ'  
 ἡμῶν εὐρίσκω· τοὺς δ' ἀγῶνας οὐδενὸς οὕτω τῶν  
 ἄλλων ὁρῶ δεομένους ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, τούτους δ'  
 ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν κινδυνεύουσι πλείους ὑπάρ-  
 10 χειν νομίζω. Τὸν μὲν δὴ πόλεμον διὰ ταῦτα παραινῶ  
 μηδ' ἐξ ἑνὸς τρόπου προτέρους ἀνελέσθαι, ἐπὶ τὸν δ'  
 ἀγῶν' ὀρθῶς φημὶ παρεσκευασμένους ὑπάρχειν χρή-  
 ναι. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἕτερός τις τρόπος ἦν δυνάμεως ᾧ



τοὺς βαρβάρους οἷόν τ' ἦν ἀμύνασθαι, ἕτερος δέ τις  
 ὦ τοὺς Ἑλληνας, εἰκότως ἂν ἴσως φανεροὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖ-  
 νον ἐγιγνόμεθ' ἀντιταττόμενοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάσης ἐστὶ 11  
 παρασκευῆς αὐτὸς τρόπος καὶ δεῖ ταῦτ' εἶναι κεφάλαια  
 τῆς δυνάμεως, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι δύνασθαι,  
 τοῖς οὖσι συμμάχοις βοηθεῖν, τὰ ὑπάρχοντ' ἀγαθὰ  
 σώζειν, τί τοὺς ὁμολογούμενους ἐχθροὺς ἔχοντες ἐτέ-  
 ρους ζητοῦμεν; Ἀλλὰ παρασκευασώμεθα μὲν πρὸς  
 αὐτούς, ἀμυνούμεθα δὲ καὶ ἐκείνους, εἰ ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν  
 ἐπιχειρή. Καὶ νῦν μὲν καλεῖτε πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς 12  
 τοὺς Ἑλληνας· ἂν δ' ἂ κελεύουσιν οὗτοι μὴ ποιῆτε,  
 οὐχ ἡδέως ἐνίων ὑμῖν ἐχόντων, πῶς χρή προσδοκᾶν  
 τιν' ὑπακούσεσθαι; Ὅτι νῆ Δί' ἀκούσονται παρ'  
 ὑμῶν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς. Αὐτοὺς δ' οὐ  
 προορᾶν ὦ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς οἴεσθε τοῦτο; Ἐγὼ μὲν  
 γὰρ οἶμαι. Ἀλλ' οὐπω μείζων οὗτός ἐσθ' ὁ φόβος  
 τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνίοις διαφορῶν.  
 Οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλ' ἢ ραψωδήσουσιν οἱ πρέσβεις περιόν-  
 τες. Τότε δέ, ἂν ἄρ' ἂ νῦν οἰόμεθ' ἡμεῖς πράττηται, 13  
 οὐδεὶς δήπου τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων τηλικούτον ἐφ'  
 αὐτῷ φρονεῖ, ὅστις ὁρῶν ὑμῖν χιλίους ἱππέας, ὀπλίτας  
 δ' ὅσους ἂν θέλῃ τις, ναὺς δὲ τριακοσίας, οὐχ ἥξει καὶ  
 δεήσεται, μετὰ τούτων ἀσφαλέστατ' ἂν ἡγούμενος  
 σωθῆναι. Οὐκοῦν ἐκ μὲν τοῦ καλεῖν ἤδη, τὸ δεῖσθαι  
 καὶ μὴ τύχητ' ἀφαρματεῖν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μετὰ τοῦ παρ-  
 εσκευάσθαι τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἐπισχεῖν, δεομένους  
 σώζειν καὶ εὖ εἰδέναι πάντας ἥξοντάς ἐστιν.

Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτά τε καὶ 14  
 παραπλήσια τούτοις λογιζόμενος λόγον μὲν οὐδέν'

ἐβουλόμην θρασὺν οὐδ' ἔχοντα μάταιον μῆκος εὐρεῖν,  
 τὴν μέντοι παρασκευὴν ὅπως ὡς ἄριστα καὶ τάχιστα  
 γενήσεται πάνυ πολλὰ πράγματ' ἔσχον σκοπῶν. Οἶ-  
 ομαι δὴ δεῖν ἀκούσαντας ὑμᾶς αὐτήν, ἂν ὑμῶν ἀρέσκη,  
 ψηφίζεσθαι. Ἔστι τοίνυν πρῶτον μὲν τῆς παρα-  
 σκευῆς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μέγιστον οὕτω δια-  
 κεῖσθαι τὰς γνώμας ὑμῶν ὡς ἕκαστον ἐκόντα προθύ-  
 15 μως ὃ τι ἂν δέη ποιήσονται. Ὅρατε γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες  
 ὅτι ὅσα μὲν πώποθ' ἅπαντες ὑμεῖς ἡβουλήθητε  
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ πράττειν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐαυτῷ  
 προσήκειν ἡγήσατο, οὐδὲν πώποθ' ὑμᾶς ἐξέφυγεν,  
 ὅσα δ' ἡβουλήθητε μὲν, μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἀπεβλέψατ' εἰς  
 ἀλλήλους ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἕκαστος οὐ ποιήσων, τὸν δὲ  
 16 πλησίον πράξοντα, οὐδὲν πώποθ' ὑμῶν ἐγένετο. Ἐχόν-  
 των δ' ὑμῶν οὕτω καὶ παρωξυμμένων, τοὺς διακοσίους  
 καὶ χιλίους ἀναπληρῶσαί φημι χρῆναι καὶ ποιῆσαι  
 δισχιλίους, ὀκτακοσίους αὐτοῖς προσνείμαντας· ἐὰν  
 γὰρ τοῦτ' ἀποδείξῃτε τὸ πλῆθος, ἡγοῦμαι, τῶν ἐπι-  
 κληρικῶν καὶ τῶν ὀρφανικῶν καὶ τῶν κληρουχικῶν καὶ  
 τῶν κοινωνικῶν καὶ εἴ τις ἀδύνατος ἀφαιρεθέντων,  
 17 ἔσεσθαι χίλια καὶ διακόσια ταῦθ' ὑμῶν σώματα. Ἐκ  
 τοίνυν τούτων οἶμαι δεῖν ποιῆσαι συμμορίας εἴκοσιν,  
 ὥσπερ νῦν εἰσὶν, ἐξήκοντα σώματ' ἔχουσιν ἐκάστην.  
 Τούτων δὲ τῶν συμμοριῶν ἐκάστην διελεῖν κελεύω  
 πέντε μέρη κατὰ δώδεκ' ἄνδρας, ἀνταναπληροῦντας  
 πρὸς τὸν εὐπορώτατον αἰεὶ τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους. Καὶ τὰ  
 μὲν σώματα ταῦθ' οὕτω συντετάχθαι φημὶ δεῖν· δι' ὃ  
 δέ, εἰσεσθ', ἐπειδὰν ὅλον τὸν τρόπον τῆς συντάξεως  
 18 ἀκούσητε. Τὰς δὲ τριήρεις πῶς ; Τὸν ἅπαντ' ἀριθ-

μὸν κελεύω τριακοσίας ἀποδείξοντας, κατὰ πεντεκαι-  
 δεκαναῖαν εἴκοσι ποιῆσαι μέρη, τῶν πρώτων ἑκατὸν  
 πέντε καὶ τῶν δευτέρων ἑκατὸν πέντε καὶ τῶν τρίτων  
 ἑκατὸν πένθ' ἐκάστῳ μέρει διδόντας, εἴτα συγκληρῶ-  
 σαι συμμορία σωμάτων ἐκάστη τὴν πεντεκαιδέκαναῖαν,  
 τὴν δὲ συμμορίαν ἐκάστῳ τῷ μέρει σφῶν αὐτῶν τρεῖς  
 ἀποδοῦναι τριήρεις. Ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχονθ' 19  
 ὑπάρχη, κελεύω, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τίμημ' ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ἑξα-  
 κισχιλίων ταλάντων, ἵν' ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ χρήματ' ἢ συντε-  
 ταγμένα, διελεῖν τοῦτο καὶ ποιῆσαι καθ' ἑξήκοντα  
 τάλανθ' ἑκατὸν μέρη, εἴτα πένθ' ἑξηκονταταλαντίας  
 εἰς ἐκάστην τῶν μεγάλων τῶν εἴκοσι συμμοριῶν ἐπι-  
 κληρῶσαι, τὴν δὲ συμμορίαν ἐκάστῳ τῶν μερῶν μίαν  
 ἑξηκονταταλαντίαν ἀποδοῦναι, ὅπως, ἂν μὲν ὑμῖν ἑκα- 20  
 τὸν δέη τριήρων, τὴν μὲν δαπάνην ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα  
 συντελῇ, τριήραρχοι δ' ὦσι δώδεκα, ἂν δὲ διακοσίων,  
 τριάκοντα μὲν ἢ τάλαντα τὴν δαπάνην συντελοῦντα,  
 ἑξ δὲ σώματα τριηραρχοῦντα, εἰάν δὲ τριακοσίων,  
 εἴκοσι μὲν ἢ τάλαντα τὴν δαπάνην διαλύοντα, τέτταρα  
 δὲ σώματα τριηραρχοῦντα. Τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ 21  
 τὰ νῦν ὀφειλόμεν', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν σκευῶν  
 ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις τιμήσαντας ἅπαντ' ἐκ τοῦ διαγράμ-  
 ματος εἴκοσι νεῖμαι κελεύω μέρη, ἔπειτα ταῖς μεγά-  
 λαις ἐπικληρῶσαι συμμορίαις μέρος ἓν χρήστων  
 ἐκάστη, τὴν δὲ συμμορίαν ἐκάστην διανεῖμαι τῶν  
 ἑαυτῆς μερῶν ἐκάστῳ τὸ ἴσον, τοὺς δὲ δώδεκα τοὺς  
 ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῷ μέρει ταῦτ' εἰσπράξαντας τὰς τριήρεις,  
 ἃς ἂν ἕκαστοι λάχωσι, παρεσκευασμένας παρέχειν.  
 Τὴν μὲν δαπάνην καὶ τὰ σκάφη καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους 22

καὶ τὴν τῶν σκευῶν εἴσπραξιν οὕτως ἂν ἄρισθ' ἡγοῦ-  
 μαι καὶ πορισθῆναι καὶ παρασκευασθῆναι· πλήρωσιν  
 δέ, ἣ καὶ σαφὴς ἔσται καὶ ῥαδία, μετὰ ταῦτα λέγω.  
 Φημὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς δεῖν διανεῖμαι τόπους δέκα  
 τῶν νεωρίων, σκεψαμένους ὅπως ὡς ἐγγύτατ' ἀλλήλων  
 κατὰ τριάκοντ' ὥσι νεώσοικοι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ τοῦτο ποιή-  
 σωσι, δύο συμμορίας καὶ τριάκοντα τριήρεις τούτων  
 ἐκάστῳ προσνεῖμαι τῶν τόπων, εἴτ' ἐπικληρώσαι τὰς  
 23 φυλάς· τὸν δὲ ταξίαρχον ἕκαστον, ὃν ἂν ἡ φυλὴ τόπον  
 λάχῃ διελεῖν τρίχα καὶ τὰς ναῦς ὡσαύτως, εἴτ' ἐπι-  
 κληρώσαι τὰς τριττῦς, ὅπως ἂν τῶν μὲν ὅλων νεωρίων  
 ἐν ἐκάστη μέρος ἦ τῶν φυλῶν, τοῦ δὲ μέρους ἐκάστου  
 τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἢ τριττὺς ἔχῃ, εἰδῆτε δ', ἂν τι δέῃ,  
 πρῶτον μὲν τὴν φυλήν, ὅπου τέτακται, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ  
 τὴν τριττύν, εἴτα τριήραρχοι τίνες καὶ τριήρεις ποῖαι,  
 καὶ τριάκοντα μὲν ἢ φυλή, δέκα δὲ τριττὺς ἐκάστη  
 τριήρεις ἔχῃ. Ἐὰν γὰρ ταῦθ' οὕτως εἰς ὁδὸν κα-  
 ταστῇ, εἴ τι καὶ παρελείπομεν νῦν (πάντα γὰρ ἴσως  
 εὐρεῖν οὐ ῥάδιον), αὐτὸ ἐαυτῷ τὸ πρᾶγμ' εὐρήσει, καὶ  
 μία σύνταξις καὶ πασῶν τῶν νεῶν καὶ μέρους ἔσται.

24 Ὑπὲρ δὲ χρημάτων καὶ πόρου φανεροῦ τινὸς ἤδη  
 παράδοξον μὲν οἶδα λόγον ὃν μέλλω λέγειν, ὅμως δ'  
 εἰρήσεται· πιστεύω γάρ, ἐάν τις ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ, μόνος  
 τᾶληθῇ καὶ τὰ γενησόμεν' εἰρηκῶς φανείσθαι. Ἐγώ  
 φημι χρῆναι μὴ λέγειν νυνὶ περὶ χρημάτων· εἶναι  
 γὰρ πόρον, ἂν δέῃ, καὶ μέγαν καὶ καλὸν καὶ δίκαιον,  
 ὃν, ἂν μὲν ἤδη ζητῶμεν, οὐδ' εἰς τόθ' ὑπάρχειν ἡγη-  
 σόμεθ' ἡμῖν· οὕτω πολὺ τοῦ πορίσαι νῦν ἀποσχί-  
 σομεν· ἐὰν δ' ἐῷμεν, ἔσται. Τίς οὖν ἔσθ' οὗτος ὁ

νῦν μὲν οὐκ ὦν, ὑπάρξων δ' εἰς τότε ; Αἰνίγματι γὰρ  
 ὁμοιον τοῦτό γε. Ἐγὼ φράσω. Ὁρᾶτε τὴν πόλιν, 25  
 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πᾶσαν ταυτηνί. Ἐν ταύτῃ χρή-  
 ματ' ἔνεστιν ὀλίγου δέω πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς ἄλλας εἰπεῖν  
 πόλεις. Ταῦτα δ' οἱ κεκτημένοι τοιοῦτον ἔχουσι νοῦν  
 ὥστ', εἰ πάντες οἱ λέγοντες φοβοῖεν ὡς ἥξει βασιλεύς,  
 ὡς πάρεστιν, ὡς οὐκ οἶόν τε ταῦτ' ἄλλως ἔχειν, καὶ  
 μετὰ τῶν λεγόντων ἴσοι τὸ πλῆθος τούτοις χρησμο-  
 δοῖεν, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἂν εἰσενέγκαιεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν  
 δείξαιεν οὐδ' ὁμολογήσαιεν κεκτηῆσθαι. Εἰ μέντοι 26  
 τὰ νῦν διὰ τῶν λόγων φοβερά ἔργῳ πραττόμεν'  
 αἰσθιοιντο, οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἡλίθιός ἐστιν ὅστις οὐχὶ  
 κἂν δοίῃ καὶ πρῶτος εἰσενέγκαι· τίς γὰρ αἰρήσεται  
 μᾶλλον αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ ὄντ' ἀπολωλέναι ἢ μέρος τῶν  
 ὄντων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσενεγκεῖν ; Χρή-  
 ματα μὲν δὴ φημ' εἶναι τότε, ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς δέῃ, πρό-  
 τερον δ' οὔ. Διὸ μηδὲ ζητεῖν παραινῶ· ὅσα γὰρ 27  
 νυνὶ πορίσαιτ' ἂν, εἰ προέλοισθε πορίζειν, πλείων  
 ἐστὶ γέλως τοῦ μηδενός. Φέρε γάρ, ἑκατοστήν τις  
 εἰσφέρειν ἐρεῖ νῦν ; Οὐκοῦν ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα. Ἀλλὰ  
 πεντηκοστήν τις ἐρεῖ, τὸ διπλοῦν ; Οὐκοῦν ἑκατὸν καὶ  
 εἴκοσι. Καὶ τί τοῦτ' ἐστὶ πρὸς διακοσίας καὶ χιλίας  
 καμήλους, ἅς βασιλεῖ τὰ χρήματ' ἄγειν φασὶν οὗτοι ;  
 Ἀλλὰ θῶ βούλεσθε δωδεκάτην ἡμᾶς εἰσοίσειν, πεντα-  
 κόσια τάλαντα ; Ἀλλ' οὗτ' ἂν ἀνάσχοισθε οὗτ', εἰ κα-  
 ταθεῖτε, ἄξια τοῦ πολέμου τὰ χρήματα. Δεῖ τοίνυν 28  
 ὑμᾶς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρασκευάσασθαι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα  
 νῦν μὲν εἶναι τοὺς κεκτημένους ἔχειν (οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἂν  
 ἐν καλλίονι σώζοιτο τῇ πόλει), εἶναι δέ ποθ' οὗτος ὁ

καιρὸς ἔλθῃ, τόθ' ἐκόντων εἰσφερόντων αὐτῶν λαμβάνειν. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ δυνάτ' ἐστὶν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ πράττειν καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα καὶ βασιλεῖ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιτήδει' ἀπαγγελθῆναι, καὶ φόβος οὐκ  
 29 ὀλίγος γένοιτ' ἂν ἐκείνῳ διὰ τούτων. Οἶδε μὲν γε διακοσίαις τριήρεσιν, ὧν ἑκατὸν παρεσχόμεθ' ἡμεῖς, τοὺς προγόνους αὐτοῦ χιλίας ἀπολέσαντας ναῦς, ἀκούσεται δὲ τριακοσίας αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς νῦν παρεσκευασμένους τριήρεις· ὥστε μὴ κομιδῇ, μηδ' εἰ πάνυ μαίνοντο, νομίσαι ῥαδίόν τι τὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ἐχθρὰν ποιήσασθαι. Ἀλλὰ μὲν εἴ γ' ἐπὶ χρήμασιν αὐτῷ μέγ' ἐπέρχεται φρονεῖν, καὶ ταύτην ἀσθενε-  
 30 στέραν ἀφορμὴν τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐρήσει. Ὁ μὲν γε χρυσίον, ὥς φασιν, ἄγει πολύ. Τοῦτο δ' εἰὰν διαδῶ ζητήσῃ· καὶ γὰρ τὰς κρήνας καὶ τὰ φρέατ' ἐπιλείπειν πέφυκεν, εἰάν τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀθρόα καὶ πολλὰ λαμβάνῃ. Ἡμῶν δὲ τὸ τῆς χώρας τίμημ' ὑπάρχον ἀφορμὴν ἀκούσεται, ὑπὲρ ἧς ὥς μὲν τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐκείνων ἀμυνούμεθα, οἱ Μαραθῶνι τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ μάλιστ' ἂν εἰδείεν, ἕως δ' ἂν κρατῶμεν, οὐκ ἔνι δήπου χρήμαθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπιλείπειν.

31 Καὶ μὲν οὐδ' ὃ τινες δεδίασι, μὴ ξενικὸν πολὺ συστήσῃται χρήματ' ἔχων, ἀληθὲς εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον μὲν καὶ Ὀρόνταν καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ἂν θελήσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων μισθοφορεῖν παρ' ἐκείνῳ, οὐχ ἵν' ἐκεῖνος ἔλῃ τινὰ τούτων, ἀλλ' ἵν' εὐπορίαν τιν' ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ κτησάμενος ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης πενίας· ἐπὶ τὴν δ' Ἑλλάδα Ἑλληνας οὐδέν' ἂν ἐλθεῖν ἡγοῦμαι.

Ποῖ γὰρ αὐτὸς τρέφεται μετὰ ταῦτα ; Εἰς Φρυγίαν  
 ἐλθὼν δουλεύσει ; Οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου γάρ τινός ἐστιν ὁ 32  
 πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον πόλεμος ἢ περὶ χώρας καὶ βίου  
 καὶ ἐθῶν καὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων.  
 Τίς οὖν οὕτως δυστυχὴς ἐστιν ὅστις ἑαυτὸν, γονέας,  
 τάφους, πατρίδα εἵνεκα κέρδους βραχείος προέσθαι  
 βουλήσεται ; Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδέν' ἡγοῦμαι. Οὐ μὲν οὐδ'  
 ἐκείνῳ συμφέρει ξένους κρατῆσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οἱ  
 γὰρ ἡμῶν κρατήσαντες ἐκείνου γε πάλαι κρείττους  
 ὑπάρχουσι, βούλεται δ' ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀνελὼν ἡμᾶς ἐπ'  
 ἄλλοις εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πάντων, εἰ δὲ μή γε,  
 τῶν ὑπαρχόντων δούλων ἑαυτῷ νῦν ἄρχειν.

Εἰ τοίνυν τις οἶεται Θηβαίους ἔσεσθαι μετ' ἐκείνου, 33  
 ἔστι μὲν χαλεπὸς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ περὶ τούτων λόγος·  
 διὰ γὰρ τὸ μισεῖν αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἂν ἀληθὲς οὐδὲν ἡδέως  
 ἀγαθὸν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκούσαίτε· οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ δεῖ τοὺς  
 περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων σκοποῦντας μηδένα συμφέ-  
 ροντα λογισμὸν παραλιπεῖν διὰ μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν.  
 Ἐγὼ τοίνυν οἶμαι τοσοῦτ' ἀπέχειν Θηβαίους τοῦ μετ' 34  
 ἐκείνου ποτ' ἂν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὥστε  
 πολλῶν ἂν χρημάτων, εἰ ἔχοιεν δοῦναι, πρίασθαι  
 γενέσθαι τιν' αὐτοῖς καιρὸν δι' οὗ τὰς προτέρας ἀνα-  
 λύσονται πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀμαρτίας. Εἰ δ' ἄρα  
 παντάπασί τις οὕτως οἶεται φύσει δυστυχεῖς Θηβαίους  
 εἶναι, ἐκείνὸ γε δήπουθεν ἅπαντες ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι Θη-  
 βαίων τὰ κείνου φρονούντων ἀνάγκη τοὺς τούτων ἐχ-  
 θροὺς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φρονεῖν.

Ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν τάξιν τοῦ δικαίου 35  
 καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῆς ὄντας κρείττους τῶν προδοτῶν καὶ

τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔσεσθαι πρὸς ἅπαντας. Ὡστ' οὔτε  
 φοβεῖσθαι φημι δεῖν πέρα τοῦ μετρίου, οὔθ' ὑπαχθῆ-  
 ναι προτέρους ἐκφέρειν τὸν πόλεμον. Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ  
 τῶν ἄλλων οὐδέν' ἂν εἰκότως Ἑλλήνων φοβηθέντα τὸν  
 36 πόλεμον τοῦτον ὁρῶ. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν αὐτῶν ὅτι  
 τέως μὲν κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐκείνων ὑπειληφότες ὠμονόουν  
 ἀλλήλοις, πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν κύριοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ  
 φίλον αὐτὸν νομίσαντες αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν περὶ τῶν  
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς διηνέχθησαν διαφόρων, ὅσ' ἂν οὐδὲ κατα-  
 ρώμενος εὐρέ τις αὐτοῖς, τοσαῦτα πεπόνθασι κακά ;  
 Εἴθ' ὅν ἡ τύχη καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον φίλον μὲν ἀλυσιτελῇ,  
 συμφέροντα δ' ἐχθρὸν ἐμφανίζει, τοῦτον ἡμεῖς φοβώ-  
 μεθα ; Μηδαμῶς. Ἀλλὰ μὴδ' ἀδικῶμεν, αὐτῶν ἡμῶν  
 εἵνεκα καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ταραχῆς καὶ ἀπι-  
 37 στίας· ἐπεὶ εἴ γ' ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἦν μετὰ πάντων ἐπιθέ-  
 σθαι μόνῳ, οὐδ' ἀδικεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐκείνον ἀδίκημ' ἂν ἔθηκα.  
 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, φυλάττεσθαι φημι  
 δεῖν μὴ πρόφασιν δῶμεν βασιλεῖ τοῦ τὰ δίκαι' ὑπὲρ  
 τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ζητεῖν· ἡσυχίαν μὲν γὰρ ἐχόν-  
 των ὑμῶν ὑποπτος ἂν εἴη τοιοῦτόν τι πράττων, πόλε-  
 μον δὲ ποιησαμένων προτέρων εἰκότως ἂν δοκοίη διὰ  
 τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχθραν τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλος εἶναι βούλε-  
 38 σθαι. Μὴ οὖν ἐξελέγξῃθ' ὥς κακῶς ἔχει τὰ Ἑλληνικά,  
 συγκαλοῦντες ὅτ' οὐ πείσονται, καὶ πολεμοῦντες ὅτ'  
 οὐ διωθήσεσθε· ἀλλ' ἔχεθ' ἡσυχίαν θαρροῦντες καὶ  
 παρασκευαζόμενοι, καὶ βούλεσθ' ἀπαγγέλλεσθαι μὲν  
 περὶ ὑμῶν πρὸς βασιλέα μὴ μὰ Δί' ὥς ἀποροῦσιν ἢ  
 φοβοῦνται ἢ θορυβοῦνται πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ  
 39 Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ· ἀλλ' ὅτι, εἰ μὲν μὴ τοῖς



Ἐλλησιν ὁμοίως αἰσχρὸν ἦν τὸ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ἐπιορκεῖν ὥσπερ ἐκείνῳ καλόν, πάλαι ἂν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς ἐπορεύεσθε, νῦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἂν ποιήσαιτε, ὑμῶν ἔνεκ' αὐτῶν, εὐχεσθε δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν λαβεῖν παράνοιαν ἐκείνων ἥνπερ ποτὲ τοὺς προγόνους αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ταῦτ' ἂν ἐπὶ σκοπεῖν αὐτῷ, οὐκ ὀλιγώρως ὑμᾶς βουλευομένους εὐρήσει. Ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν 40 πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ προγόνους πολέμων σύνοιδε τὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην γεγεννημένην, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἡσυχίας ἧς ἦγέ ποτε οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων τοσοῦτον ὅσον νῦν ὑπεραίρουσαν. Καὶ μὴν καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὁρᾷ δεομένους ἥτοι τινὸς ἐκουσίου ἢ ἀκουσίου διαλλακτοῦ, τοῦτον δ' αὐτὸν ἂν οἶδε φανέντ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ πόλεμον κινοίῃ. Ὡστε καὶ γνώριμα καὶ πίστ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἀπαγγελλόντων ἀκούειν ἔσται.

Ἴνα δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ μακρὰ λίαν λέγων 41 ἐνοχλῶ, τὰ κεφάλαι' ὧν συμβουλεύω φράσας ἄπειμι. Παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἐχθροὺς κελεύω, ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ βασιλέα καὶ πάντας, ἂν ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειρῶσι, ταύτῃ τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει φημὶ δεῖν, ἄρχειν μηδενὸς δ' ἀδίκου μήτε λόγου μήτ' ἔργου, τὰ δ' ἔργ' ἡμῶν ὅπως ἄξια τῶν προγόνων ἔσται σκοπεῖν, μὴ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος λόγους. Καὶ ταῦτα ποιήτε, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς τᾶναντία πείθουσι συμφέροντα πράξετε· οὐ γὰρ ὀργιείσθ' αὐτοῖς ὕστερον, νῦν ἁμαρτόντες.

## ΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ.

**Α**ΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΙ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἁμαρτάνειν, ὦ ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ οἱ τοῖς Ἀρκάσι καὶ οἱ τοῖς Λακε-  
 δαιμονίοις συνειρηκότες· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀφ' ἐκατέρων  
 ἤκοντες, οὐχ ὑμῶν ὄντες πολῖται, πρὸς οὓς ἀμφότεροι  
 πρεσβεύουσι, κατηγοροῦσι καὶ διαβάλλουσιν ἀλλή-  
 λους. Ἦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τῶν ἀφιγμένων ἔργον, τὸ δὲ  
 κοινῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων λέγειν καὶ τὰ βέλτισθ'  
 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν σκοπεῖν ἄνευ φιλονεικίας τῶν ἐνθάδε συμ-  
 2 βουλεύειν ἀξιούντων. Νῦν δ' ἔγωγε, εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἀφέ-  
 λοι τὸ γινώσκεσθαι καὶ τὸ τῇ φωνῇ λέγειν Ἀττικῶς,  
 πολλοὺς ἂν οἶμαι τοὺς μὲν Ἀρκάδας, τοὺς δὲ Λάκωνας  
 αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίσαι. Ἐγὼ δ' ὁρῶ μὲν ὡς χαλεπὸν τὰ  
 βέλτιστα λέγειν ἐστί· συνεξηπατημένων γὰρ ὑμῶν,  
 καὶ τῶν μὲν ταυτί, τῶν δὲ ταυτὶ βουλομένων, ἂν τι  
 μεταξύ τις ἐγχειρῇ λέγειν καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ περιμείνητε  
 μαθεῖν, χαριεῖται μὲν οὐδετέροις, διαβεβλήσεται δὲ  
 3 πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους· οὐ μὲν ἄλλ' αἰρήσομαι μᾶλλον  
 αὐτός, ἂν ἄρα τοῦτο πάθω, δοκεῖν φλυαρεῖν ἢ παρ'  
 ἃ βέλτιστα νομίζω τῇ πόλει προέσθαι τισὶν ὑμᾶς  
 ἐξαπατῆσαι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλ' ὕστερον, ἂν ὑμῖν  
 βουλομένοις ἦ, δείξω· ἀπὸ τῶν δ' ὁμολογουμένων ὑφ'  
 ἀπάντων ἄρξομαι ἃ κράτιστα νομίζω διδάσκειν.

Οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἀντείποι ὥς οὐ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει 4  
καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀσθενεῖς εἶναι καὶ Θηβαίους του-  
τουσί. Ἐστί τοίνυν ἐν τινι τοιούτῳ καιρῷ τὰ πράγ-  
ματα νῦν, εἴ τι δεῖ τοῖς εἰρημένοις πολλάκις παρ' ὑμῖν  
λόγοις τεκμήρασθαι, ὥστε Θηβαίους μὲν Ὀρχομενοῦ  
καὶ Θεσπιῶν καὶ Πλαταιῶν οἰκισθειςὼν ἀσθενεῖς γε-  
νέσθαι, Λακεδαιμονίους δέ, εἰ ποιήσονται τὴν Ἀρκα-  
δίαν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ Μεγάλην πόλιν αἰρήσουσι, πάλιν  
ἰσχυροὺς γενήσεσθαι. Σκεπτέον τοίνυν μὴ πρότερον 5  
τούσδε γενέσθαι φοβεροὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἐάσωμεν ἢ  
κεῖνοι μικροὶ γενήσονται, καὶ λάθωσιν ἡμᾶς πλείονι  
μείζους οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γεγόμενοι ἢ ὅσῳ τοὺς Θη-  
βαίους ἐλάττους συμφέρει γενέσθαι. Οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνό  
γ' ἂν εἴποιμεν, ὥς ἀνταλλάξασθαι βουλοίμεθ' ἀντι-  
πάλους Λακεδαιμονίους ἀντὶ Θηβαίων, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἔσθ'  
ὃ σπουδάζομεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως μηδέτεροι δυνήσονται μη-  
δὲν ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἡμεῖς μετὰ πλείστης  
ἀδείας εἴημεν.

Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω δεῖν ἔχειν φήσομεν, 6  
δεωνὸν δ' εἰ, πρὸς οὓς παρεταπτόμεθ' ἐν Μαντινείᾳ,  
τούτους συμμάχους αἰρησόμεθα, εἴτα βοηθήσομεν  
τούτοις ἐναντί' ἐκείνοις μεθ' ὧν τότε ἐκινδυνεύομεν.  
Κάμοι ταῦτα δοκεῖ, προσδεῖσθαι δ' ἔτι τοῦ “τὰ δίκαια  
ποιεῖν ἐθελόντων τῶν ἐτέρων.” Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐθελή- 7  
σουσιν εἰρήνην ἅπαντες ἄγειν, οὐ βοηθήσομεν τοῖς  
Μεγαλοπολίταις· οὐδὲν γὰρ δεήσει· ὥστ' οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν  
ὑπεναντίον ἡμῶν ἔσται πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπαραταξαμένους,  
σύμμαχοι δ' ἡμῖν οἳ μὲν ὑπάρχουσιν, ὥς φασιν, οἳ  
δὲ προσγενήσονται νυνί. Καὶ τί ἂν ἄλλο βουλοί-

- 8 μεθα ; Ἐὰν δ' ἀδικῶσι καὶ πολεμῆν οἴωνται δεῖν, εἰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτου μόνον βουλευτέον, εἰ χρὴ Μεγάλην πόλιν ἡμᾶς προέσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ μή, δίκαιον μὲν οὐ, συγχωρῶ δ' ἔγωγ' ἑᾶσαι καὶ μηδὲν ἐναντιωθῆναι τοῖς γε τῶν αὐτῶν μετασχοῦσι κινδύνων· εἰ δ' ἅπαντες ἐπίστασθ' ὅτι, ταύτην ἂν ἔλωσιν, ἴασ' ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην, φρασάτω τις ἐμοὶ τῶν νῦν χαλεπῶν τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις, τί τόθ' ἡμῖν συμβουλεύσει ποιεῖν.
- 9 Ἄλλ' οὐδεὶς ἐρεῖ. Καὶ μὴν πάντες ἐπίστασθ' ὥς, παραινούντων τούτων καὶ μή, βοηθητέον, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ὄρκους οὓς ὁμωμόκαμεν Μεσσηνίοις, καὶ διὰ τὸ συμφέρον εἶναι κατοικεῖσθαι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν. Σκοπεῖσθε δὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, ποτέραν τὴν ἀρχὴν καλλίονα καὶ φιλανθρωποτέραν ποιήσεσθε τοῦ μὴ ἵπντρέπειν ὑμᾶς ἀδικεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις, τὴν ὑπὲρ Μεγάλης
- 10 πόλεως ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ Μεσσήνης; Νῦν μὲν γε βοηθεῖν δόξετ' Ἀρκάσι καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην σπουδάζειν εἶναι βεβαίαν, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐκινδυνεύσατε καὶ παρετάξασθε· τότε δ' εὐδηλοὶ πᾶσιν ἔσεσθε οὐ τοῦ δικαίου μᾶλλον εἵνεκα Μεσσήνην εἶναι βουλόμενοι ἢ τοῦ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους φόβου. Δεῖ δὲ σκοπεῖν μὲν καὶ πράττειν αἰεὶ τὰ δίκαια, συμπαρατηρεῖν δ' ὅπως ἅμα καὶ συμφέροντ' ἔσται ταῦτα.
- 11 Ἔστι τοίνυν τοιούτός τις λόγος παρὰ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων, ὥς κομίσασθαι τὸν Ὀρωπὸν ἡμᾶς ἐγχειρεῖν δεῖ, εἰ δὲ τοὺς βοηθήσαντας ἂν ἡμῖν νῦν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐχθροὺς κτησόμεθα, οὐχ ἔξομεν συμμάχους. Ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὲν κομίσασθαι τὸν Ὀρωπὸν πειρᾶσθαι δεῖν φημὶ καὶ αὐτός· τὸ δ' ἐχθροὺς ἡμῖν Λακεδαιμονίους

ἔσεσθαι νῦν, ἐὰν ποιῶμεθα συμμάχους Ἀρκάδων τοὺς  
 βουλομένους ἡμῖν εἶναι φίλους, μόνοις οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ἐξεῖ-  
 ναι νομίζω τοῖς πείσασιν ὑμᾶς, ὅτ' ἐκινδύνεον Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι, βοηθεῖν. Οὐ γὰρ ταῦτα λέγοντες ἔπεισαν 12  
 ὑμᾶς, πάντων Πελοποννησίων ἐλθόντων ὡς ὑμᾶς, καὶ  
 μεθ' ὑμῶν ἀξιούντων ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἵεναι,  
 τούτους μὲν μὴ προσδέξασθαι (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὅπερ  
 ἦν ὑπόλοιπον αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ Θηβαίους ἦλθον), ὑπὲρ δὲ  
 τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων σωτηρίας καὶ χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν  
 καὶ τοῖς σώμασι κινδυνεύειν. Οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἠθελή-  
 σατε δήπου σώζειν αὐτούς, εἰ τοῦτο προύλεγον ὑμῖν,  
 ὅτι σωθέντες, ἐὰν μὴ ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλονται πάλιν  
 αὐτοὺς ἔατε καὶ ἀδικεῖν, οὐδεμίαν ὑμῖν χάριν ἔξουσι  
 τῆς σωτηρίας. Καὶ μὴν εἰ σφόδρ' ἐναντίον ἐστὶ τοῖς 13  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιχειρήμασι τὸ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἡμᾶς  
 συμμάχους ποιήσασθαι, προσήκει δήπου πλείω χάριν  
 αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ὧν ἐσώθησαν ὑφ' ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους  
 ἐλθόντες κινδύνους ἢ ὧν ἀδικεῖν κωλύονται νῦν ὀργί-  
 ζεσθαι. Ὡστε πῶς οὐ βοηθήσουσιν ἡμῖν ἐπ' Ὀρω-  
 πόν, ἢ κάκιστοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων δόξουσιν εἶναι ;  
 Μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔγωγ' οὐχ ὁρῶ.

Θαυμάζω τοίνυν καὶ τῶν λεγόντων τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, 14  
 ὡς εἰ συμμάχους ποιησόμεθ' Ἀρκάδας καὶ ταῦτα πρά-  
 ξομεν, μεταβάλλεσθαι δόξει καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχειν πιστὸν  
 ἢ πόλις. Ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ τοῦναντίον, ὧ ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι. Διὰ τί ; Ὅτι τῶν πάντων οὐδέν' ἂν ἀντει-  
 πεῖν οἶομαι ὡς οὐ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ πρότερον  
 Θηβαίους καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Εὐβοέας ἔσωσεν ἢ πόλις,  
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συμμάχους ἐποιήσατο, ἔν τι ταῦτ' αἰεὶ

- 15 βουλομένη πράττειν. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τί ; Τοὺς ἀδικουμένους σώζειν. Εἰ τοίνυν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, οὐκέτ' ἂν ἡμεῖς εἶημεν οἱ μεταβαλλόμενοι, ἀλλ' οἱ μὴ θέλοντες τοῖς δικαίοις ἐμμένειν, καὶ φανήσεται τὰ πράγματα διὰ τοὺς ἀεὶ πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένους μεταβαλλόμενα, οὐχ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν.
- 16 Δοκοῦσι δέ μοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μάλα δεινῶν ἔργον ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖν. Νῦν γάρ φασιν ἐκεῖνοι δεῖν Ἑλείους μὲν τῆς Τριφυλίας τινὰ κομίσασθαι, Φλιασίους δὲ τὸ Τρικάρανον, ἄλλους δέ τινας τῶν Ἀρκάδων τὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ἡμᾶς, οὐχ ἑνὶ ἐκάστους ἡμῶν ἴδωσιν ἔχοντας τὰ αὐτῶν, οὐδ' ὀλίγου δεῖν· ὁψὲ γάρ
- 17 ἂν φιλάνθρωποι γένοιτο· ἀλλ' ἵνα πᾶσι δοκῶσι συμπράττειν ὅπως ἕκαστοι κομίσωνται ταῦθ' ἃ φασιν αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἑνὶ ἐπειδὰν ἴωσ' ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην αὐτοί, συστρατεύωνται πάντες αὐτοῖς οὗτοι καὶ βοηθῶσι προθύμως, ἢ δοκῶσιν ἀδικεῖν, περὶ ὧν ἔφασαν ἕκαστοι σφῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι συμψήφους λαβόντες ἐκείνους,
- 18 μὴ τὴν ὁμοίαν αὐτοῖς χάριν ἀποδιδόντες. Ἐγὼ δὲ νομίζω τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον μὲν καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ καθυφεῖναι τινὰς Λακεδαιμονίοις Ἀρκάδων Ὠρωπὸν ἂν κομίσασθαι, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων, ἂν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλωσι, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν οὐκ οἰομένων δεῖν Θηβαίους εἶναι ἔχειν τὰλλότρια. Εἰ δ' ἄρα τοῦτ' εὐδηλον ἡμῖν γένοιτο, ὅτι μὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐῶντες τὴν Πελοπόννησον καταστρέψασθαι οὐχ οἰοί τ' ἐσόμεθ' Ὠρωπὸν λαβεῖν, αἰρετώτερον, εἰ οἷόν τ' εἶπειν, ἡγοῦμαι τὸν Ὠρωπὸν εἶναι ἢ Λακεδαιμονίοις Μεσσήνην προέσθαι καὶ Πελοπόννησον. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι περὶ τούτου

μόνον ἡμῶν εἶναι τὸν λόγον πρὸς ἐκείνους, ἀλλ' — ἐάσω τό γ' ἐπελθὼν εἰπεῖν μοι · περὶ πολλῶν δ' ἂν οἶμαι κίνδυνον ἡμῶν γενέσθαι.

Ἄλλα μὲν ἃ γέ φασι πεπραῆχθαι διὰ Θηβαίους τοῖς 19  
Μεγαλοπολίταις ὑπεναντία πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἄτοπον νῦν ἐν κατηγορίας μέρει ποιεῖσθαι, βουλομένων δὲ γενέσθαι φίλων αὐτῶν, ἵνα τοῦναντίον εὖ ποιῶσιν ἡμᾶς, βασκαίνειν καὶ σκοπεῖν ἐξ ὅτου τρόπου μὴ γενήσονται, καὶ μὴ γιγνώσκειν ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν σπουδαιότερους τούτους περὶ Θηβαίους γεγενημένους ἀποδείξωσι, τοσούτῳ πλείονος ὀργῆς αὐτοὶ δικαίως ἂν τυγχάνοιεν, εἰ τοιούτων συμμάχων τὴν πόλιν, ὅτ' ἐφ' ἡμᾶς προτέρους ἦλθον ἢ Θηβαίους, ἀπεστέρησαν. Ἄλλ', οἶμαι, ταῦτα 20  
μέν ἐστὶ δεύτερον ἀνθρώπων βουλομένων ἐτέρων ποιῆσαι τούτους συμμάχους. Ἐγὼ δ' οἶδα, ὅσ' ἂν ἐκ λογισμοῦ σκοπῶν τις εἰκάσαι, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς οἶμαι ὑμῶν ἐμοὶ ταῦτα φήσειν, ὅτι, εἰ λήψονται Μεγάλην πόλιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κινδυνεύσει Μεσσήνη · εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτην λήψονται, φήμ' ἡμᾶς ἔσεσθαι συμμάχους Θηβαίων. Πολὺ δὲ κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τὴν μὲν Θηβαίων 21  
συμμαχίαν αὐτοὺς παραλαβεῖν, τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ πλεονεξία μὴ ὑπιτρέψαι, ἢ νῦν ὀκνοῦντας μὴ τοὺς Θηβαίων σώσωμεν συμμάχους, τούτους μὲν προέσθαι, πάλιν δὲ σώζειν αὐτοὺς τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ προσέτ' ἐν φόβῳ καθεστάναι περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. Οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' 22  
ἀδεὲς τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνω τῇ πόλει, τὸ λαβεῖν Μεγάλην πόλιν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ πάλιν γενέσθαι μεγάλους. Ὅρῳ γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ νῦν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν τι κακὸν πολεμεῖν αἵρουμένους, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ κομίσασθαι

τὴν πρότερόν ποτ' οὔσαν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν· ὣν δ', ὅτ' ἐκείνην εἶχον, ὠρέγοντο, ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον ἴσως εἰδότες ἢ ἡ γὰρ φοβοῖσθ' ἂν εἰκότως.

- 23 Ἡδέως δ' ἂν πυθοίμην τῶν λεγόντων καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους μισεῖν φασκόντων καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, πότερα δὴ ἑκάτεροι μισοῦσιν, οὓς δὴ μισοῦσιν, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑμῶν, ἢ ὑπὲρ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Θηβαίους, ὑπὲρ δὲ Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους ἑκάτεροι; Εἰ μὲν γ' ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων, οὐδετέροις ὥς μαινομένοις πείθεσθαι προσήκει· εἰ δ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν φήσουσι, τί πέρα τοῦ καιροῦ τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐπαίρουσιν;
- 24 Ἔστι γάρ, ἔστι Θηβαίους ταπεινοὺς ποιεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίους ἰσχυροὺς καθιστάναι, καὶ πολὺ γε ῥᾶον· ὥς δέ, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. Ἴσμεν ἅπαντες τοῦτο, ὅτι τὰ μὲν δίκαια πάντες, ἔαν καὶ μὴ βούλωνται, μέχρι τού γ' αἰσχύνονται μὴ πράττειν, τοῖς δ' ἀδίκοις ἐναντιοῦνται φανερώς, ἄλλως τε καὶ τινες βλάπτωνται· καὶ τοῦτο λυμαινόμενον πάνθ' εὐρήσομεν, καὶ ταύτην ἀρχὴν οὔσαν πάντων τῶν
- 25 κακῶν, τὸ μὴ θέλειν τὰ δίκαια πράττειν ἀπλῶς. Ἴνα τοίνυν μὴ τοῦτ' ἐμποδὼν γένηται τῷ Θηβαίους γενέσθαι μικροῦς, τὰς μὲν Θεσπιάς καὶ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ τὰς Πλαταιὰς κατοικίζεσθαι φῶμεν δεῖν, καὶ συμπράττωμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀξιῶμεν (ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια, μὴ περιορᾶν πόλεις ἀρχαίας ἐξανεστῶσας), τὴν Μεγάλην δὲ πόλιν καὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην μὴ προώμεθα τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι, μηδ' ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει τῇ Πλαταιῶν καὶ Θεσπιῶν τὰς οὔσας καὶ
- 26 κατοικουμένας πόλεις ἀναιρεθείσας περιύδωμεν. Κἂν



ἢ ταῦτα πρόδηλα, οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ βουλήσεται παύ-  
 σασθαι Θηβαίους ἔχοντας τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν· εἰ δὲ μή,  
 πρῶτον μὲν ἐναντίους ἔξομεν πρὸς ἐκεῖνα τούτους εἰ-  
 κότως, ὅταν ἡγῶνται τὴν ἐκείνων κατοίκισιν αὐτοῖς  
 ὄλεθρον φέρειν, εἴτ' ἀνήνυτα πράγμαθ' ἔξομεν αὐτοί·  
 τί γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔσται πέρας, ὅταν αἰεὶ τὰς μὲν  
 οὔσας πόλεις ἐῷμεν ἀναιρεῖν, τὰς δ' ἀνηρημένας ἀξιῷ-  
 μεν οἰκίζειν;

Λέγουσι τοίνυν οἱ μάλιστα δοκοῦντες δίκαια λέγειν 27  
 ὥς δεῖ τὰς στήλας καθελεῖν αὐτοὺς τὰς πρὸς Θη-  
 βαίους, εἴπερ ἡμέτεροι βεβαίως ἔσονται σύμμαχοι.  
 Οἱ δὲ φασι μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐ στήλας, ἀλλὰ τὸ συμφέρον  
 εἶναι τὸ ποιοῦν τὴν φιλίαν, τοὺς δὲ βοηθοῦντας ἐαυ-  
 τοῖς, τούτους νομίζειν εἶναι συμμάχους. Ἐγὼ δ', εἰ  
 τὰ μάλιστ' εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι, ὡδί πως ἔχω. Φημὶ δεῖν  
 ἅμα τούτους ἀξιῶν καθαιρεῖν τὰς στήλας καὶ Λακε-  
 δαιμονίους ἄγειν εἰρήνην, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλωσι ποιεῖν  
 ὁπότεροι ταῦτα, τότε ἤδη μετὰ τῶν ἐθελόντων ἡμᾶς  
 γίγνεσθαι. Εἴτε γὰρ εἰρήνης γιγνομένης αὐτοῖς οἱ 28  
 Μεγαλοπολῖται ἔτι τῆς Θηβαίων συμμαχίας ἔξονται,  
 φανεροὶ πᾶσι ἔσονται τὴν πλεονεξίαν τὴν Θηβαίων,  
 οὐ τὸ δίκαιον αἰρούμενοι· εἴτε, συμμάχους ἡμᾶς  
 ἀδόλως τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν ποιουμένων, μὴ θελήσου-  
 σιν ἄγειν εἰρήνην οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δῆλοι δῆπου  
 πᾶσιν ἔσονται, οὐχ ἵνα Θεσπιαὶ κατοικισθῶσι μόνον  
 ποιούμενοι τὴν σπουδὴν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦ πολέμου πε-  
 ριεστηκότος Θηβαίοις τὴν Πελοπόννησον ὑφ' αὐτοῖς  
 ποιήσωνται. Θαυμάζω δ' ἐνίων, εἰ τὸ μὲν Θηβαίων 29  
 συμμάχους εἶναι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐχθροὺς φο-

βοῦνται, εἰ δὲ καταστρέφονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτους, μηδὲν ἡγοῦνται φοβερόν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἔργῳ πείραν ἡμῖν δεδωκότος τοῦ χρόνου ὅτι Θηβαῖοι μὲν τούτοις συμμάχοις ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀεὶ χρῶνται, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ὅτ' εἶχον αὐτούς, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐχρῶντο.

- 30 Οἶμαι τοίνυν ἔγωγε κάκεῖν' ἐνθυμείσθαι δεῖν, ὅτι μὴ προσδέξαμένων μὲν ὑμῶν τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας, εἰ μὲν ἀναιρεθῶσι καὶ διοικισθῶσιν, ἰσχυροῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔστιν εὐθὺς εἶναι, εἰ δὲ σωθῶσιν ἄρα, ὥς ἤδη τι καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐξέβη, βέβαιοι σύμμαχοι Θηβαίων δικαίως ἔσονται· εἰ δὲ προσδέξησθε, τούτοις μὲν ὑπάρξει ἤδη σωθῆναι δι' ὑμᾶς, τὸ δὲ συμβησόμενον, τὸν τοῦ κινδύνου λογισμὸν μετενεγκόντες,
- 31 σκοπῶμεν ἐπὶ Θηβαίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων. \* Ἄν μὲν τοίνυν καταπολεμηθῶσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ὥσπερ αὐτοὺς δεῖ, οὐκ ἔσονται μείζους τοῦ δέοντος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτους ἔχοντες ἀντιπάλους τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦντας· ἂν δ' ἀνενέγκωσιν ἄρ' οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ σωθῶσιν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἀσθενέστεροί γ' ἔσονται, ἡμῖν συμμάχων γεγενημένων τῶνδε καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσωσμένων. \* Ὡστε πανταχῇ συμφέρει μήτε προέσθαι τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, μήτε δι' αὐτούς, ἂν ἄρα σωθῶσι, περιγεγονέναι δοκεῖν μηδὲ δι' ἄλλους τινάς, ἀλλὰ δι' ὑμᾶς.

- 32 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὔτε φιλῶν οὔδετέρους οὔτε μισῶν ἰδίᾳ εἴρηκα, ἀλλ' ἃ νομίζω συμφέρειν ὑμῖν· καὶ παραινῶ μὴ προέσθαι Μεγαλοπολίτας, μηδ' ἄλλον ἀπλῶς μηδένα τῶν ἐλαττόνων τῷ μείζονι.



## ΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΡΟΔΙΩΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ.

**Ο**ΙΜΑΙ δέω, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τηλικούτων  
 βουλευομένους διδόναι παρρησίαν ἐκάστῳ τῶν  
 συμβουλευόντων. Ἐγὼ δ' οὐδεπώποθ' ἡγησάμην  
 χαλεπὸν τὸ διδάξαι τὰ βέλτισθ' ὑμᾶς (ὥς γὰρ εἰπεῖν  
 ἀπλῶς, ἅπαντες ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωκότες μοι δοκεῖτε), ἀλλὰ  
 τὸ πείσαι πράττειν ταῦτα· ἐπειδὴν γάρ τι δόξη καὶ  
 ψηφισθῇ, τότε ἴσον τοῦ πραχθῆναι ἀπέχει ὅσον περ  
 2 πρὶν δόξαι. Ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἐν ᾧ ἐγὼ νομίζω χάριν  
 ὑμᾶς τοῖς θεοῖς ὀφείλεις, τοὺς διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ὕβριν  
 ὑμῶν πολεμήσαντας οὐ πάλαι νῦν ἐν ὑμῶν μόνοις τῆς  
 αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας. Ἄξιον δ' ἡσθῆναι  
 τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ· συμβήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν, ἂν ἡ χρὴ  
 βουλεύσῃσθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, τὰς παρὰ τῶν διαβαλλόν-  
 των τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν βλασφημίας ἔργῳ μετὰ δόξης  
 8 καλῆς ἀπολύσασθαι. Ἡτιτάσαντο μὲν γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐπι-  
 βουλεύειν αὐτοῖς Χῖοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι, καὶ  
 διὰ ταῦτα συνέστησαν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸν τελευταῖον του-  
 τονὶ πόλεμον· φανήσεται δ' ὁ μὲν πρυτανεύσας ταῦτα  
 καὶ πείσας Μαύσωλλος, φίλος εἶναι φάσκων Ῥοδίων,  
 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτῶν ἀφηρημένος, οἱ δ' ἀποδείξαντες  
 ἑαυτοὺς συμμάχους Χῖοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι τοῖς ἀτυχήμα-  
 4 σιν αὐτῶν οὐ βεβοηθηκότες, ὑμεῖς δ', οὓς ἐφοβοῦντο,

μόνοι τῶν πάντων τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς αἴτιοι. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ταῦθ' ὑφ' ἀπάντων ὀφθῆναι ποιήσετε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι τοῦτο ποιεῖσθαι σύμβουλον τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας, εἰ μὴ ὑμῖν ὦσι φίλοι· οὐ μείζον οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμῖν γένοιτ' ἀγαθόν, ἢ παρὰ πάντων ἐκόντων ἀνυπόπτου τυχεῖν εὐνοίας.

Θαυμάζω δ' ὅτι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁρῶ ὑπὲρ μὲν Αἰγυπτίων τὰναντία πράττειν βασιλεῖ τὴν πόλιν πείθοντας, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ Ῥοδίων δήμου φοβουμένους τὸν ἄνδρα τούτον. Καίτοι τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας ὄντας ἅπαντες ἴσασι, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇ κείνου μεμερισμένους. Οἶμαι δ' ὑμῶν μνημονεύειν ἐνίους ὅτι, ἡνίκ' ἐβουλεύεσθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλικῶν, παρελθὼν πρῶτος ἐγὼ παρήνευσα, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ μόνος ἢ δεύτερος εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μοι σωφρονεῖν ἂν δοκεῖτε, εἰ τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς παρασκευῆς μὴ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔχθραν ποιόισθε, ἀλλὰ παρασκευάζοισθε μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἐχθρούς, ἀμύνοισθε δὲ καὶ ἐκείνους, εἰ μὴ ὑμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειρή. Καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν εἶπον ταῦτα, ὑμῖν δ' οὐκ ἐδόκουν ὀρθῶς λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν ἤρεσκε ταῦτα. Ἀκόλουθος τοίνυν ὁ νῦν λόγος ἐστὶ μοι τῷ τότε ῥηθέντι. Ἐγὼ γάρ, εἰ βασιλεὺς παρ' αὐτὸν ὄντα με σύμβουλον ποιοῖτο, ταῦτ' ἂν αὐτῷ παραινέσαιμ' ἅπερ ὑμῖν, ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πολεμεῖν, εἰ μὴ τις ἐναντιῶται τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὧν δὲ μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκει, τούτων μηδ' ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ὅλως ἐγνώκατ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσων ἂν βασιλεὺς ἐγκρατὴς γένηται φθάσας ἢ παρακρουσάμενός τινος τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παραχωρεῖν, οὐ καλῶς ἐγνώκατε, ὥς ἐγὼ

κρίνω· εἰ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων καὶ πολεμῶν, ἂν τούτου δέῃ, καὶ πάσχειν ὁτιοῦν οἴεσθε χρῆναι, πρῶτον μὲν ὑμῖν ἥττον δεήσει τούτων, ὅσῳ ἂν μᾶλλον ἐγνωκότες ἦτε ταῦτα, ἔπειθ' ἂν προσήκει φρονεῖν δόξετε.

- 9 Ὅτι δ' οὐδὲν καινὸν οὗτ' ἐγὼ λέγω νῦν κελεύων Ῥοδίους ἐλευθεροῦν οὗθ' ὑμεῖς, ἂν πεισθῇτέ μοι, ποιήσετε, τῶν γεγενημένων ὑμᾶς τι καὶ συνενηνοχότων ὑπομνήσω. Ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμψατε Τιμόθεόν ποτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηθήσοντ' Ἀριοβαρζάνη, προσγράψαντες τῷ ψηφίσματι "μὴ λύοντα τὰς σπονδὰς τὰς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα." Ἰδὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος τὸν μὲν Ἀριοβαρζάνη φανερώς ἀφεστῶτα βασιλέως, Σάμον δὲ φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Κυπροθέμιδος, ὃν κατέστησε Τιγράνης ὁ βασιλέως ὑπαρχος, τῷ μὲν ἀπέγνω μὴ βοηθεῖν, τὴν δὲ προσκαθεζόμενος καὶ βοηθήσας
- 10 ἠλευθέρωσε· καὶ μέχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας οὐ γέγονεν πόλεμος διὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν. Οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν πολεμήσειεν ἂν καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν ὧν ἐλαττοῦνται μέχρι τοῦ δυνατοῦ πάντες πολεμοῦσιν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἐφίενται μὲν, εἴαν τις ἔᾳ, εἴαν δὲ κωλυθῶσιν, οὐδὲν ἡδικηκέναι τοὺς ἐναντιωθέντας αὐτοῖς ἡγοῦνται.
- 11 Ὅτι δ' οὐδ' ἂν ἐναντιωθῆναί μοι δοκεῖ τῇ πράξει ταύτῃ νῦν Ἀρτεμισία, τῆς πόλεως οὔσης ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, μικρ' ἀκούσαντες σκοπεῖτε εἴτ' ὀρθῶς λογίζομαι ταῦτ' εἶτε μή. Ἐγὼ νομίζω, πράττοντος μὲν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάνθ' ὡς ὥρμηκε βασιλέως, σφόδρ' ἂν Ἀρτεμισίαν πειραθῆναι περιποιῆσαι Ῥόδον αὐτῷ,

οὐ τῇ βασιλέως εὐνοίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ βούλεσθαι πλησίον αὐτῆς διατρίβοντος ἐκείνου μεγάλην εὐεργεσίαν καταθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἢ ὥς οἰκειότατ' αὐτὴν ἀποδέχεται· πράττοντος δ' ὥς λέγεται, καὶ διημαρτηκότος οἷς 12 ἐπεχείρησεν, ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν νῆσον ταύτην, ὅπερ ἔστιν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν εἶναι βασιλεῖ χρησίμην ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιτείχισμα πρὸς τὸ μηδ' ὀτιοῦν παρακινεῖν. Ὡστε μοι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἂν ὑμᾶς ἔχειν, μὴ φανερώς αὐτῆς ἐνδούσης, ἢ κείνον λαβεῖν βούλεσθαι. Οἶμαι μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ βοηθήσειν αὐτήν, ἂν δ' ἄρα τοῦτο ποιῇ, φαύλως καὶ κακῶς· ἐπεὶ καὶ βα- 13 σιλέα γε, ὃ τι μὲν ποιήσῃ μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμ' ἔγωγ' ὥς οἶδα, ὅτι μέντοι συμφέρει τῇ πόλει δῆλον ἤδη γενέσθαι πότερ' ἀντιποιήσεται τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ῥοδίων ἢ οὗ, τοῦτ' ἂν ἰσχυρισαίμην· οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Ῥοδίων βουλευτέον, ὅταν ἀντιποιῇται, μόνον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων.

Οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἂν εἰ δι' αὐτῶν εἶχον τὴν πόλιν οἱ 14 νῦν ὄντες ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥόδιοι, παρήνεσ' ἂν ὑμῖν τούτους ἐλέσθαι, οὐδ' εἰ πάνθ' ὑπισχνοῦνθ' ὑμῖν ποιήσῃ. Ὅρῳ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὅπως καταλύσωσι τὸν δῆμον, προσλαβόντας τινὰς τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτ' ἔπραξαν, πάλιν ἐκβαλόντας τούτους· τοὺς οὖν μηδετέροις πιστῶς κεχρημένους οὐδ' ἂν ὑμῖν βεβαίους ἡγοῦμαι γενέσθαι συμμάχους. Καὶ ταῦτ' 15 οὐδεπώποτ' εἶπον ἂν, εἰ τῷ Ῥοδίων δήμῳ μόνον ἡγούμην συμφέρειν· οὔτε γὰρ προξενῶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὔτ' ἰδίᾳ ξένος αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ μοι. Οὐ μὲν οὐδ' εἰ ταῦτ' ἀμφοτέρ' ἦν, εἰ μὴ συμφέρειν ὑμῖν ἡγούμην,

- εἶπον ἄν, ἐπεὶ Ῥοδίοις γε, εἰ οἷόν τε τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν αὐτῶν συναγορεύοντι τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, συγχαίρω τῶν γεγενημένων· τοῦ κομίσασθαι γὰρ τὰ ὑμέτερ' ὑμῖν φθονήσαντες τὴν αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλέκασιν, καὶ παρὸν αὐτοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ βελτίοσιν αὐτῶν ὑμῖν ἐξ ἴσου συμμαχεῖν, βαρβάροις καὶ δούλοις, οὓς εἰς τὰς ἀκροπόλεις  
16 παρείνται, δουλεύουσιν. Ὀλίγου δὲ δέω λέγειν, εἰ ἂν αὐτοῖς ὑμεῖς ἐθελήσητε βοηθῆσαι, ὥς καὶ συνενήνοχε ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς· εὖ μὲν γὰρ πράττοντες οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ ποτ' ἂν εὖ φρονῆσαι ἠθέλησαν, ὄντες Ῥόδιοι, ἔργῳ δὲ πειραθέντες καὶ διδαχθέντες ὅτι πολλῶν κακῶν ἢ ἄνοι' αἰτία τοῖς πολλοῖς γίνεται, τάχ' ἂν, εἰ τύχοιεν, σωφρονέστεροι πρὸς τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου γένοιτο. Τοῦτο δ' οὐ μικρὰν ὠφέλειαν αὐτοῖς ἡγοῦμαι. Φημὶ δὴ χρῆναι πειρᾶσθαι σώζειν τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ μὴ μνησικακεῖν, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων ἐξηπάτησθε, ὧν οὐδενὸς αὐτοὶ δοῦναι δίκην δίκαιον ἂν εἶναι φήσαιτε.
- 17 Ὅρατε δὲ κακεῖν', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι πολλοὺς ὑμεῖς πολέμους πεπολεμήκατε καὶ πρὸς δημοκρατίας καὶ πρὸς ὀλιγαρχίας. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν πρὸς ἑκατέρους ἔσθ' ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος, τοῦτ' ἴσως ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς λογίζεται. Ὑπὲρ τίνων οὖν ἐστίν; Πρὸς μὲν τοὺς δήμους ἢ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκλημάτων, οὐ δυνηθέντων δημοσίᾳ διαλύσασθαι ταῦτα, ἢ περὶ γῆς μέρους ἢ ὄρων ἢ φιλονεικίας ἢ τῆς ἡγεμονίας· πρὸς δὲ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐδενός, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας·  
18 ὥστ' ἔγωγ' οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμ' εἰπεῖν μᾶλλον ἡγεῖσθαι



συμφέρειν δημοκρατουμένους τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἅπαντας πολεμεῖν ὑμῶν ἢ ὀλιγαρχουμένους φίλους εἶναι. Πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθέρους ὄντας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἂν εἰρήνην ὑμᾶς ποιήσασθαι νομίζω, ὅποτε βουλευθείητε, πρὸς δ' ὀλιγαρχουμένους οὐδὲ τὴν φιλίαν ἀσφαλῆ νομίζω· οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως ὀλίγοι πολλοῖς καὶ ζητοῦντες ἄρχειν τοῖς μετ' ἰσηγορίας ζῆν ἡρημένοις εὖνοι γένοιντ' ἂν.

Θαυμάζω δ' εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἡγεῖται, Χίων ὀλι- 19  
γαρχουμένων, καὶ Μυτιληναίων, καὶ νυνὶ Ῥοδίων καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγου δέω λέγειν εἰς ταύτην τὴν δουλείαν ὑπαγομένων, συγκινδυνεύειν τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν πολιτείαν, μηδὲ λογίζεται τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως, εἰ δι' ὀλιγαρχίας ἅπαντα συστήσεται, τὸν παρ' ἡμῶν δῆμον ἐάσουσιν. Ἰσασι γὰρ οὐδένας ἄλλους πάλιν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν τὰ πράγματ' ἐξάγοντας· ὅθεν δὴ κακὸν αὐτοῖς ἂν τι γενέσθαι προσδοκῶσι, τοῦτ' ἀνελεῖν βουλήσονται. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους ἀδικοῦντάς τινας 20 αὐτῶν τῶν κακῶς πεπονθότων ἐχθροὺς ἡγεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ τὰς πολιτείας καταλύοντας καὶ μεθιστάντας εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν κοινοὺς ἐχθροὺς παραινῶ νομίζειν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμούντων. Ἐπειτα δίκαιον, ὧ 21 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δημοκρατουμένους αὐτοὺς τοιαῦτα φρονούντας φαίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἀτυχούντων δήμων, οἷά περ ἂν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀξιώσαιτε φρονεῖν περὶ ὑμῶν, εἴ ποτε, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, τοιοῦτό τι συμβαίῃ. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ δίκαιά τις φήσῃ Ῥοδίους πεπονθέναι, οὐκ ἐπιτήδειος ὁ καιρὸς ἐφησθῆναι· δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς εὐτυχοῦντας περὶ τῶν ἀτυχούντων αἰεὶ φαίνεσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα βουλευομένους, ἐπειδὴ περ ἄδηλον τὸ μέλλον ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις.

- 22 Ἀκούω δ' ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἐνταυθὶ παρ' ὑμῖν τινῶν  
 λεγόντων ὥς, ὅτ' ἡτύχησεν ὁ δῆμος ἡμῶν, συνεβου-  
 λήθησάν τινες αὐτὸν σωθῆναι· ὣν ἐγὼ μόνων Ἀργείων  
 ἐν τῷ παρόντι μνησθήσομαι βραχύ τι. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν  
 ὑμᾶς βουλοίμην, δόξαν ἔχοντας τοῦ σώζειν τοὺς ἀτυ-  
 χοῦντας αἰεὶ, χείρους Ἀργείων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πράξει  
 φανῆναι, οἳ χώραν ὁμορον τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκοῦν-  
 τες, ὁρῶντες ἐκείνους γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄρχοντας, οὐκ  
 ἀπώκνησαν οὐδ' ἐφοβήθησαν εὐνοϊκῶς ὑμῖν ἔχοντες  
 φανῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐλθόντας ἐκ Λακεδαί-  
 μονος, ὥς φασιν, ἐξαιτήσονται τινὰς τῶν φυγάδων  
 τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐψηφίσαντο, ἐὰν μὴ πρὸ ἡλίου δύντος
- 23 ἀπαλλάττωνται, πολεμίους κρίνουν. Εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν,  
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὸ μὲν Ἀργείων πλῆθος οὐκ  
 ἐφοβήθη τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχὴν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς  
 καιροῖς οὐδὲ τὴν ῥώμην, ὑμεῖς δ' ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι  
 βάρβαρον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα γυναῖκα, φοβήσεσθε ;  
 Καὶ μὴν οἳ μὲν ἔχοιεν ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅτι πολλάκις ἡττηνται  
 Λακεδαιμονίων, ὑμεῖς δὲ νενικήκατε μὲν πολλάκις βα-  
 σιλέα, ἡττησθε δ' οὐδ' ἅπαξ οὔτε τῶν δούλων τῶν  
 βασιλέως οὔτ' αὐτοῦ κείνου. Εἰ γάρ τί που κεκρά-  
 τηκε τῆς πόλεως βασιλεύς, ἢ τοὺς πονηροτάτους τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων καὶ προδότας αὐτῶν χρήμασι πείσας ἢ οὐ-
- 24 δαμῶς ἄλλως κεκράτηκεν. Καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ συν-  
 ενήνοχεν, ἀλλ' ἅμ' εὐρήσεται αὐτὸν τὴν τε πόλιν διὰ  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἀσθενῇ ποιήσαντα καὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ  
 βασιλείας κινδυνεύσαντα πρὸς Κλέαρχον καὶ Κῦρον.  
 Οὔτ' οὖν ἐκ φανεροῦ κεκράτηκεν οὔτ' ἐπιβουλεύσαι  
 συνενήνοχεν αὐτῷ. Ὀρῶ δ' ὑμῶν ἐνίους Φιλίππου·

μὲν ὡς ἄρ' οὐδενὸς ἀξίου πολλάκις ὀλιγωροῦντας, βασιλέα δ' ὡς ἰσχυρὸν ἐχθρὸν οἷς ἂν προέλῃται φοβουμένους. Εἰ δὲ τὸν μὲν ὡς φαῦλον οὐκ ἀμυνόμεθα, τῷ δ' ὡς φοβερῷ πάνθ' ὑπείξομεν, πρὸς τίνας, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραταξόμεθα ;

Εἰσὶ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παρ' ὑμῖν δεινότατοι 25· τὰ δίκαια λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οἷς παραινέσαιμ' ἂν ἔγωγε τοσοῦτον μόνον, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ζητεῖν τὰ δίκαια λέγειν, ἵν' αὐτοὶ τὰ προσήκοντα πρῶτοι φαίνωνται ποιοῦντες, ὡς ἔστ' ἄτοπον περὶ τῶν δικαίων ὑμᾶς διδάσκειν αὐτὸν οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντα· οὐ γάρ ἐστι δίκαιον ὄντα πολίτην τοὺς καθ' ὑμῶν λόγους, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐσκέφθαι. Φέρε γὰρ πρὸς θεῶν σκοπεῖτε, τί δή ποτ' 26 ἐν Βυζαντίῳ οὐδεὶς ἐσθ' ὁ διδάξων ἐκείνους μὴ καταλαμβάνειν Χαλκηδόνα, ἣ βασιλέως μὲν ἐστίν, εἶχετε δ' αὐτὴν ὑμεῖς, ἐκείνοις δ' οὐδαμόθεν προσήκεν· μηδὲ Σηλυμβρίαν, πόλιν ὑμετέραν ποτὲ σύμμαχον οὔσαν, ὡς αὐτοὺς συντελῇ ποιεῖν καὶ Βυζαντίων ὀρίζειν τὴν τούτων χώραν παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, ἐν αἷς αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι γέγραπται. Οὐδὲ 27 Μαύσωλλον ζῶντα, οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκείνου τὴν Ἀρτεμισίαν οὐδεὶς ἐσθ' ὁ διδάξων μὴ καταλαμβάνειν Κῶν καὶ Ῥόδον καὶ ἄλλας ἑτέρας πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας, ὧν βασιλεὺς ὁ κείνων δεσπότης ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀπέστη τοῖς Ἑλλησι, καὶ περὶ ὧν πολλοὺς κινδύνους καὶ καλοὺς ἀγῶνας οἱ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους Ἕλληες ἐποιήσαντο. Εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ λέγει τις ἀμφοτέροισι αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' οἷ γε πεισόμενοι τούτοις, ὡς ἔοικεν,

28 οὐκ εἰσίν. Ἐγὼ δὲ δίκαιον μὲν εἶναι νομίζω κατά-  
 γειν τὸν Ῥοδίων δῆμον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ μὴ δίκαι-  
 ον ἦν, ὅταν εἰς ἃ ποιούσιν οὗτοι βλέψω, προσήκειν  
 οἶμαι παραινεῖν κατάγειν. Διὰ τί; Ὅτι πάντων  
 μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ὠρμηκότων,  
 αἰσχροὺς ἡμᾶς μόνους μὴ θέλειν, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλ-  
 λων ὅπως ἀδικεῖν δυνήσονται παρασκευαζομένων, μό-  
 νους ἡμᾶς τὰ δίκαια προτείνεσθαι, μηδεὶς ἀντιλαμ-  
 βανομένους, οὐ δικαιοσύνην, ἀλλ' ἀνανδρίαν ἡγοῦμαι·  
 ὁρῶ γὰρ ἅπαντας πρὸς τὴν παρούσαν δύναμιν τῶν  
 29 δικαίων ἀξιουμένους. Καὶ παράδειγμα λέγειν ἔχω  
 τούτου πᾶσι ὑμῖν γνώριμον. Εἰσὶ συνθήκαι τοῖς  
 Ἑλλησι διτταὶ πρὸς βασιλέα, ἃς ἐποιήσαθ' ἡ πόλις ἡ  
 ἡμετέρα, ἃς ἅπαντες ἐγκωμιάζουσιν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ'  
 ὕστερον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταύτας ὧν δὴ κατηγοροῦσι·  
 καὶ ταύταις οὐχὶ ταῦτά δίκαι' ἀμφοτέραις ὄριστα.  
 Τῶν μὲν γ' ἰδίων δικαίων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις οἱ  
 νόμοι κοινὴν τὴν μετουσίαν ἔδοσαν καὶ ἴσιν καὶ τοῖς  
 ἀσθενέσι καὶ τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς· τῶν δ' Ἑλληνικῶν δικαί-  
 ῶν οἱ κρατοῦντες ὄριστα τοῖς ἡττοσι γίνονται.

30 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἐγνωκέναι τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν  
 ὑπάρχει, ὅπως καὶ πράξαι ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔσται δεῖ-  
 σκοπεῖν. Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα, ἂν ὑποληφθῇτε κοινοὶ  
 προστάται τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας εἶναι. Εἰκότως δέ  
 μοι δοκεῖ χαλεπώτατον ὑμῖν εἶναι πράξαι τὰ δέοντα.  
 Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀγὼν ἔστιν,  
 ὁ πρὸς τοὺς προδήλους ἐχθρούς, ὧν ἂν κρατήσωσιν,  
 οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν αὐτοῖς κυρίοις τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι·  
 31 ὑμῖν δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δύο, οὗτός θ' ὁ καὶ τοῖς

ἄλλοις, καὶ πρόσσεσθ' ἕτερος τούτου πρότερος καὶ μείζων· δεῖ γὰρ ὑμᾶς βουλευομένους κρατῆσαι τῶν τάναντία τῇ πόλει παρ' ὑμῖν πράττειν προηρημένων. Ὅταν οὖν μηδὲν ἢ διὰ τούτους ἀκονιτὶ τῶν δεόντων γενέσθαι, πολλῶν διαμαρτάνειν ὑμᾶς εἰκότως συμβαίνει. Τοῦ μέντοι πολλοὺς ἀδεῶς ταύτην τὴν τάξιν αἰρεῖσθαι τῆς πολιτείας ἴσως μὲν αἱ παρὰ τῶν μισθοδοτούντων αὐτοὺς ὠφέλειαί μάλιστ' αἴτιαι, οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἂν τις ἔχοι δικαίως αἰτιάσθαι. Ἐχρῆν γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν διάνοιαν ὑμᾶς περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τάξεως ἥνπερ περὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἔχετε. Τίς οὖν ἐστὶν αὕτη; Ὑμεῖς τὸν λείποντα τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τάξιν ταχθεῖσαν ἄτιμον οἶεσθε προσήκειν εἶναι καὶ μηδενοῦς τῶν κοινῶν μετέχειν. Χρὴ τοίνυν καὶ τοὺς τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων τάξιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ παραδεδομένην λείποντας καὶ πολιτευομένους ὀλιγαρχικῶς ἀτίμους τοῦ συμβουλεύειν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ τῶν μὲν συμμάχων τοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον ὑμῖν ὁμωμοκότας νομίζειν εὐνουστάτους, τῶν δὲ πολιτευομένων οὕς ἴστε σαφῶς τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροὺς ἤρημένους, τούτους πιστοτάτους ἡγεῖσθε.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ὃ τι τις κατηγορήσει τούτων ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑμῖν ἐπιπλήξει χαλεπὸν εὐρεῖν· ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὁποίων λόγων ἢ πράξεως ποίας ἐπανορθώσεται τις ἂν νῦν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχει, τοῦτ' ἔργον εὐρεῖν. Ἴσως μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ περὶ πάντων λέγειν· ἀλλ' ἂν ἂ προήρησθε δυνηθῇτ' ἐπικυρῶσαι συμφερούση τινὶ πράξει, καὶ τᾷλλ' ἂν ἴσως καθ' ἐν αἰεὶ

35 βέλτιον ἔχοι. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀντι-  
λαμβάνεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων ἐρρωμένως, καὶ  
πράττειν ἄξια τῆς πόλεως, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι χαίρετ'  
ἀκούοντες, ὅταν τις ἐπαινῇ τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν καὶ  
τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἐκείνοις διεξίη καὶ τὰ τρόπαια λέγῃ.  
Νομίζετε τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀναθεῖναι τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν  
οὐχ ἵνα θαυμάζητ' αὐτὰ θεωροῦντες, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ μι-  
μῆσθε τὰς τῶν ἀναθέντων ἀρετάς.



# NOTES





## NOTES.

### ON ORATION XIV.

By way of Introduction to the Speech on the Symmories, see Grote's History of Greece, Vol. XI, pp. 398–405 (1st *Eng. Ed.*), 285–290 (*Am. Ed.*); and Curtius' History of Greece, Vol. V, pp. 251–259 (*Am. Ed.*).

#### Προοίμιον (1, 2).

a. Οἱ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες...Ἐγὼ δέ. — λόγον (obj. of εἰπεῖν): pleonastic, 1 but expressed to offset an implied ἔργα of the antithetic clause (συμφέροντα...ποιεῖν). The extreme of this, Thuc. I. 22, ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι...τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων. To similar rhetorical motives are due (τοῦ δοκεῖν)...δόξαν and παρὰ τοῖς ἀκούουσι (φαίνεσθαι) ποιούσιν, below. Compare also (κοινούς) ἀλλήλοις after κοινόν (3), and τὴν (τοῦ...δοκεῖν) εἶναι πίστιν (7). In the present passage, by a Chiastic arrangement, the contrasted attributive expressions κεχαρισμένον and συμφέροντα are brought together.

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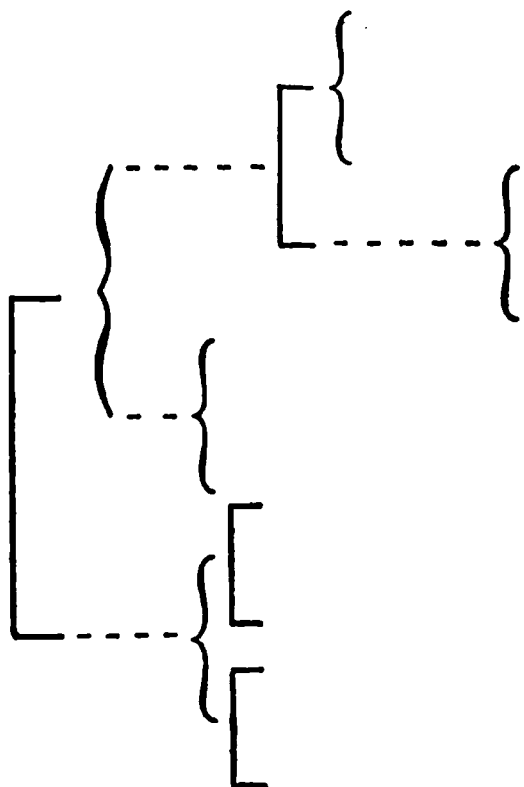
#### ΛΙΒΑΝΙΟΥ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Φήμης γενομένης τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα παρασκευάζεσθαι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος κεκίνηται καὶ συγκαλεῖν ὤρμηται τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν ἤδη, ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης συμβουλεύει μὴ προεξανίστασθαι, ἀλλ' ἀναμένειν τὸν βασιλέα νεωτερίσαι. νῦν μὲν γάρ, φησὶν, οὐ πείσομεν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας συμμαχεῖν ἡμῖν, ἐπ' ἀδείας εἶναι δοκοῦντας· τότε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτὸς συστήσεται. παραινεῖ τοίνυν ἡσυχάζοντας συντάξασθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευάσασθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ διέξεισιν ὃν τρόπον ἂν συνταχθεῖεν. ὅθεν καὶ περὶ συμμοριῶν ὁ λόγος ἐπιγράφεται· συμμορία γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς τὸ τῶν λειτουργούντων σύνταγμα.

**b.** Ἐκείνους, *the great men*: ἐκεῖνος often requires something more than a mere pronoun to convey its full significance. E.g., Lys. XII. 18, ὃ τι ἕκαστος ἔτυχεν ἔδωκεν εἰς τὴν ἐκεῖνον ταφὴν (*of the unhappy man*). — ἀξίως: not strictly appropriate to the metaphor in ἐφικέσθαι, and not found in *F. L.* 65, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς δύναιτ' ἐφικέσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν. — ὑπειλημμένης | End of a Colon (with *Pause*). — For the sentiment here, compare *Lept.* 76 (of the exploits of Chabrias), οὔτε πάνυ ῥαδίον κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν εἰπεῖν, πολλή τ' αἰσχύνῃ λέγοντος ἐμοῦ ταῦτ' ἐλάττω φανῆναι τῆς ἐν ἐκάστῳ νῦν περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξης ὑπαρχούσης. Also *Phil.* II. 11, (τοὺς ὑμετέρους προγόνους) πράξαντας ταῦθ' ἃ πάντες ἀεὶ γλίσχονται λέγειν, ἀξίως δ' οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται, διόπερ καγὼ παραλείψω δικαίως (ἔστι γὰρ μείζονα τὰ κείνων ἔργα ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τις ἂν εἴποι).

**c.** Ἐκείνων μὲν... αὐτὸς δέ (2). — οὐ πολλοῦ γεγενημένου, κτλ., *which, long as it has been, has not enabled, &c.*: πολλοῦ is predicative (πολὺς γεγένηται ὁ χρόνος). — οὐδένες: the plural because not individuals, but sets, are compared. (οὐδένες: οὐδεῖς = ἕκαστοι: ἕκαστος = ἕτεροι: ἕτερος, &c.). — The rhetorical figure here, παράλειψις, *praeteritio*.

- 2' The arrangement, τὸν τρόπον εἰπεῖν, κτλ. (*Anticipation*), is evidently due to a striving for parallelism (τὸν χρόνον — τὸν τρόπον). Less formal (and less pointed) would have been πειράσομαι δ' αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν ὃ ἂν τρόπῳ δοκεῖτέ μοι, κτλ. In this connexion note ἅπαντες and οὐδέν, offset by εἰς and πᾶς, below. — For the tense of σχοίη, see on *Rhod.* 22, a. — πᾶς ὁ παρὼν φόβος λελύσεται: — ∪ ∪ | — ∪ | — ∪ | — ∪ | — Λ. — For λελύσεται, see GMT. (Goodwin's *Greek Moods and Tenses*), page 44, Note 2, first example. — For ὡς ἔχω γνώμης, G. (Goodwin's *Grammar*, 1879), § 168, N. 3, p. 220.



The formalism of this Proem is noteworthy, especially as marking the earliest public harangue of Demosthenes. The passage is an excellent specimen of the epideictic style, however; and it should be observed that such a style is highly appropriate to the occasion, — adopted by a sort of *Paraleipsis* as it were. Its elaborate logical structure is best seen by means of an analysis laid out in tabular form (as far as *λελύσεται*).

*For Athens to assume the Offensive toward the King were perilous, as matters stand in Hellas: a thorough Preparation for Defence will ensure Successful Resistance, in case of an Attack, and the Ready Coöperation of the Greeks (3–13).*

**Μόνοις τῶν ἄλλων**: illogical idiom; for *μόνοις ἀπάντων*, or *χωρίς τῶν ἄλλων*. The phrase, a rare one, occurs several times in Dem., as *Aristocr.* 185, *εἰς ἀπάντων τῶν ἄλλων μόνος*. So Plato, *Phæd.* 62 A, *τοῦτο μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων*: and Lycurg. *Leocr.* 102, *μόνου τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν* ('Ομήρου). — **πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτὸν αἰρεῖσθαι**: cf. *Epist. Phil.* 9, *πόλεμον αἰρεῖσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς*, and see on *πολεμεῖν αἰρουμένους*, *Meg.* 22. — **Ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων** (note the Article), *under such circumstances as these*. — **τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου, κτλ.** Assuming that the War (observe the Article) is to come, Athens must avoid becoming the aggressor, in view of the suspicions that would otherwise be excited against her among the Greek States — not at all from any considerations of right and wrong in the abstract. See below (36, 37), *μηδ' ἀδικῶμεν, αὐτῶν ἡμῶν εἵνεκα*, κτλ. — **ὑποκεῖσθαι** = *ὑπόθεσιν (basis of action) εἶναι*.

**Τι, in the least**. — For **συμμαχήσαι** and **ἔχειν**, see GMT. p. 33, N. 3 4 (last example), with p. 14, N. 2. The irregularity is not obtrusive here, after the intervening protasis: cf. on (29) c, below. — **τούτοις μετ' ἐκείνου**: an abbreviated expression, characteristic of the style of this Oration, where the addition of a participle (*γενομένοις*) would be expected. As the phrase stands, it is nearly equivalent to *κάκείνῳ καὶ τούτοις*. **τούτοις** gains some strength by the separation from its relative. Cf. *Meg.* 1, *ὑμῶν...πρὸς οὓς*.

**Ὦν** = *τούτων ᾧ*. — **εἰ ἄρ' ἔγνωκε**, if he has determined (as is alleged, 5 but the speaker is not inclined to believe). This *ἄρα* will be met with frequently. — **καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντες**: merely a repetition, in more general terms, of what precedes (Couplet). Cf. *Phil.* I. 23, *ληστεύειν ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ πολέμου χρῆσθαι*. Here the expression

intervening makes the change of trope, from *ἐπανορθώνονται* to *παρόψονται*, less abrupt.

- 6 **Οὐδέ γὰρ οὐδέ**: repetition of the negative particle for effect, with assimilation of the second to the first in form (*οὐδέ* belonging naturally to the *à fortiori* argument). Cf. *Timocr.* 110, *οὐδέ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄκων οὐδὲν ἔθηκεν ὀρθῶς ἔχον*. Xen. *Cyr.* VII. ii. 20 (quoted by Weil), *οὐδέ γὰρ οὐδέ τοῦτο ἐψεύσατο*. Rather frequent in Homer, as κ. 327, *Οὐδέ γὰρ οὐδέ τις ἄλλος ἀνὴρ τάδε φάρμακ' ἀνέτλη*. Here, the extreme emphasis is in place after the pathetic *τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν*. — *ἀπ' ἴσης*: commonly *ἐξ ἴσου*. The fem. form in such phrases (cf. *ἄχρι τῆς ἴσης*, *Pac.* 17) is due to no conscious ellipse, but is idiomatic. — The concession in the *μέν* clause, *πολλοῖς ἐνδέχασθαι, κτλ.*, is ironical, and characteristically so.

The senseless discord of the other cities, urges Dem., is especially unworthy of *ours*. In deliberating on foreign affairs you Athenians are not, no, most assuredly not, on an equal footing with the rest of the Greeks. If many another state can afford to consider solely its local interests, Athens certainly cannot, consistently with her name and position.

- 7 **Ἴσοι**: i.e. *ισοπαλεῖς*. — *τὴν τοῦ...δοκεῖν...πίστιν* (*credit*): cf. *τοῦ δοκεῖν...δόξαν* (1). — *ἡ μὲν δύναμις...φαίνεται δέ, κτλ.* The two clauses answer to the two introduced by *μήτε* above, in the same order; but the sentence itself has a chiasmic arrangement. Observe the change of subject.
- 8 Take **σφόδρ' ἐτοίμως** with *κελεύουσιν, πολεμεῖν* being emphasized by the collocation. — *οὐθ' ὅταν...οὐθ' ὅταν ~ ἐπὶ μὲν...ἐν δέ*: Chiasmus again. — *καὶ προσῆκον*: bringing in, somewhat by surprise, an effective enlargement of the predication.
- 9 a. **Ἐγὼ δέ** introduces the speaker's own attempt at what he has just recommended, *φρονιμώτερα τῶν ἄλλων εἰπεῖν, κτλ.* Cf. *Rhod.* 1, and the note, a. — *τὸν μὲν πόλεμον...τὸν δ' ἀγῶνα*. Cf. *Phil.* III. 52, *Πρὸς μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον πολλὰ φύσει πλεονεκτῆμαθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει,...εἰς δ' ἀγῶνα ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκείνος ἡσκηται*. Thuc. I. 141. 5, *μάχη μὲν μὲν μὲν μὲν πρὸς ἅπαντας Ἕλληνας δυνατοὶ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἀντισχεῖν, πολεμεῖν δέ, μὴ πρὸς ὁμοίαν παρασκευήν, ἀδύνατοι*. Lucilius, XXVI. vii. (quoted by Weil), —

*Ut populus Romanus victus vi, et superatus praeliis  
Saepe est multis; bello vero nunquam, in quo sunt omnia.*

b. **Ἀναγκαίως**, with *δεῖσθαι*. Compare the position of *τούτοις* (4), *τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν* (5), *πολεμεῖν* (8), *οὕτω* (9), *ὀρθῶς, εἰκότως* (10), and so continually. Sense and form (rhythm, hiatus, &c.) have equally to do with

the ever-present Hyperbaton in Demosthenes. Often both motives are seen to have worked in unison to produce a given arrangement; never the one at the expense of the other. — οὐδενὸς..τῶν ἄλλων : cf. οὐδαμῶς ἄλλως (*Rhod.* 23), and the note, c. — The subjective way of putting things to the Athenian Demus (νομίζω...ἡγοῦμαι...εὕρισκω...ὁρῶ...νομίζω) is well illustrated here (9).

Μηδ' ἐξ ἐνὸς τρόπου, *on no account whatever*. Often, ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου. 10  
— Εἰ μὲν...ἐπεὶ δέ (11). — τις (*quidam*), with ἕτερος both times, to make the absurdity of the supposition more apparent. — ᾧ...ῇν : GMT. § 64, 2, p. 136. — εἰκότως ἂν ἴσως : see on ἀναγκαίως, just above (9) b. The ordinary arrangement would be as in Lys. XII. 29, ἴσως ἂν εἰκότως αὐτῷ συγγνώμην εἵχετε (i.e. ἴσως at the beginning of the clause). As here, *Rhod.* 34, end. — πρὸς ἐκείνον also gains force by the separation from its participle.

a. Πάσης ἐστὶ, *belongs to all, &c.* The thought of πάσης is enlarged 11  
with the other clause, καὶ δεῖ, κτλ., by δύνασθαι with its three dependent infinitives, explanatory of κεφάλαια τῆς δυνάμεως. 'The same things

ἐπὶ τὸν δ' ἀγῶνα, instead of ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα (⏟⏟⏟⏟⏟). The reading 10  
of the Mss. is thus changed, to restore the order in which the words were probably written by Demosthenes, who avoids as far as possible the concurrence of more than two short syllables, setting μὲν and δέ in the third or fourth place when necessary to this end, as the Mss. often enough testify. In the conscious and systematic following of this Rhythmical Principle, whereby the gain in dignity to the oratorical style is obvious, Dem. stands alone among the Prose Authors. The foremost exceptions to the rule appear in *single words* (Μεγαλοπολιται), and sets of words *closely connected in sense* (ὁ περὶ τούτων λόγος). But the author's choice of words would be guided by it, as well as his choice between available forms of the same word : between ἐθέλειν and θέλειν, ἐκεῖνος and κεῖνος, αἰεί and αἰεί, ἐνεκ(α) and εἵνεκα (forms all found in the Mss.); further, between ταῦτόν and ταῦτ(ό), τοσοῦτον and τοσοῦτ(ο), πᾶς and ἅπας, περὶ and ὑπέρ, &c. Sometimes the elision of a verbal ending will be preferred to using ν (ἰασ' ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην, st. ἰασιν ἐπὶ M.), or, on the other hand, ν will be used before a consonant, as in poetry. At the end of a *Colon*, that is, before a *Pause* in the delivery, a short has of course the value of a long, as at the end of a *Verse*. The *Pause* is frequently indicated to us by an apparent violation of the Rhythm (see, for example, on *Sym.* 36, ἐπειδὴ δὲ | φίλον αὐτόν, κτλ.), or by the *Hiatus*, which is allowed in any form at the end of a *Colon*. The whole subject of Rhythm and Hiatus, including the theory of *Pause* and *Colon* (*Grouping*), is of the highest importance in Demosthenes, furnishing, as it does, invaluable aid to interpretation and criticism. See BLASS, *Die Attische Beredsamkeit*, III. 97–112.

must constitute sum and substance of our power, *whatever* it is to enable us to do.' See, besides, on μέρους (23) end. — The epithets οὔσι and ὑπάρχοντα are inserted to enforce the notion of a purely defensive policy.

**b.** Τί...ζητούμεν; In plainer sequence the speaker would have said, — 'We may, therefore, institute preparations for war without exciting the King's suspicions.' The question which by surprise (παρὰ προσδοκίαν) is substituted for this, exposes the folly of the proposal to open offensive operations against Persia. — τοὺς (our) ὁμολογουμένους ἐχθρούς: especially Philip of Macedon. Amphipolis, Pydna, and Potidæa were already in his hands. — Ἀλλά, No! — παρασκευασώμεθα, κτλ. The formality of the antithetic sentence is well relieved. With the unemphatic pronoun, πρὸς αὐτούς (i.e. πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθρούς), the weight of the antithesis falls at first on the verbs; then the unexpected κακείνον, with the change of construction in ἀμυνώμεθα, comes in effectively.

- 12 **a.** Νῦν μέν...τότε δέ (13): discussing — first, the results of adopting (hastily) the proposal now before the assembly; secondly, those of adopting what Dem. is about to propose (and waiting): cf. *Meg.* 10. These results are summed up and contrasted in the concluding sentence of the whole passage, (13) Οὐκοῦν, κτλ. — ἃ κελεύουσιν οὗτοι (note the construction), *what these stand ready to demand*. — For νῆ Δία, see on *Meg.* 6. — Αὐτοὺς...προορᾶν: opposed to ἀκούσονται παρ' ὑμῶν. That αὐτούς is intensive (modifying the suppressed subject of the infinitives, τοὺς Ἕλληνας) is made clear by the antithesis and by its own position. Cf. *Meg.* 21; *Rhod.* 25.

**b.** Μείζων..ὁ φόβος τῶν...διαφορῶν: of the counterbalancing of motives. Cf. *Aristocr.* 108 (of the Olynthians finding that Philip was growing) μείζω τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς πίστεως, *bigger than his credit with them*: i.e. they saw that he was beginning to overdraw his balance. — ἐνίοις, *which some have*: poss. dat. with substantive (rare). — ραψφδήσουσιν: Suidas, ραψφδῆσαι,...τὸ φλναρῆσαι· ἢ τὸ ἀπλῶς λαλεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, χωρὶς ἔργου τινός (i.e. πλεον οὐδὲν ποιῶντα?). An interesting passage in this connexion is *Xen. Symp.* III. 5, 6.

- 13 **a.** Ἄ νῦν οἰόμεθ' ἡμεῖς, sc. αὐτὸν πράξεσθαι. Dem. himself does not share in the apprehension. Observe ἄρα again. — ὁρῶν ὑμῖν...ἱππέας, κτλ., sc. ὄντας, οὐσας. The ellipse of a participle with ὁρῶ and similar verbs is not uncommon; but the present instance, with a possessive dat., is a peculiar one. Compare, however, *Eur. Phœn.* 719, τοῦθ' ὁρῶ πολλοῦ πόνου. A similar idiom is the frequent omission of εἶναι with ἡγοῦμαι, νομίζω, &c. — Of the ἱππεῖς the standing number in the time of Dem. was 1000: as to a levy of troops, he intends to make no proposal: his

**b. Οὐκοῦν...ἐστίν.** The Thucydidean flavor of this passage (remarked on first by Dionysius of Halicarnassus) is decidedly strong for the taste of a real, live assembly. Nothing but a consummate precision of delivery could have made it acceptable. The antithetic parts of the predicate are these; — τοῦ καλεῖν : τοῦ...ἐπισχεῖν = ἤδη : μετὰ τοῦ παρσκευασθαι τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν. Of the subject, these; — τὸ δεῖσθαι : δεομένους σώζειν = κἂν μὴ τύχητ' ἀφάμαρτεῖν : καὶ εὖ εἰδέναι πάντας ἥξοντας. Note (1) the Article used but once with the subject: (2) the tense of παρσκευασθαι: and (3) the pointed (but rather strained) opposition between δεῖσθαι (ὕμᾱς) and δεομένους (ἐκείνους) σώζειν. — κἂν μὴ τύχητε, sc. ὧν ἂν δεηθῇτε.

**Δόγον μὲν...τὴν μέντοι παρασκευὴν** : compare the contrasts drawn in 14 the Proem and in (8). For the construction, **τὴν..παρασκευὴν ὅπως, κτλ.**, cf. (3) above (*τὴν..ἀρχὴν...ὅπως ἰση καὶ δικαία γενήσεται*), but observe the *adverbs* here, against the pred. adjectives there, showing how near **γενήσεται** comes to being an absolute passive in sense. Thuc. II. 14, *χαλεπῶς αὐτοῖς...ἡ ἀνάστασις ἐγίγνετο* (*the removal was made with reluctance on their part*). — **ὥς ἕκαστον...ποιήσονται** : GMT., § 110, 2, N. 1, p. 225 ; so below (15, end). Compare with this passage Phil. I. 7, *ἀν...παύσησθε αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἕκαστος ποιήσειν ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ πλησίον πάνθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξειν*. Thuc. I. 141, 6 (quoted by Weil), *Καὶ ἕκαστος οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν οἶεται βλάψειν, μέλειν δέ τινι καὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τι προΐδειν, ὥστε τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ πάντων ἰδίᾳ δοξάσματος λαμβάνειν τὸ κοινὸν ἄθροον φθειρόμενον*. — The alliteration running through (14, 15) deserves attention.

ὅσα μὲν..ἅπαντες..ἠβουλήθητε καὶ...ἕκαστος..., οὐδέν, κτλ.  
 ὅσα δὲ { ἠβουλήθητε μὲν,  
 μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἀπεβλέψατε..ὥς { αὐτὸς μὲν..εὐ ποιήσων,  
 τὸν δὲ πλησίον..., οὐδέν, κτλ.



If the form of this passage reminded Dionysius of Thucydides, it should have recalled only what the Historian strove for but never attained. The passage is not Thucydidean; it is too clear for that: rather Isocratic, were there any waste in it.

- 16 **Οὕτω** (δεικτικῶς): as you now are, under the influence of the present alarm. — **δυσχίλους**, predicative. — **τοῦτο**, emphatically placed. — **τῶν ἐπικληρικῶν**, sc. σωμάτων. The same ellipse with the other three adjectives. Ἐπικληρικὰ σώματα are of course the same as ἐπικληροί, κληρουχικὰ σώματα the same as κληροῦχοι, &c., but Dem. is here considering them *by the head*. 'Make up the proposed total (**πλήθος**) of 2000 persons, and then, after taking away those of ἐπικληροί, κληροῦχοι, &c., you will have 1200 left.' **εἰ τις ἀδύνατος** (covering miscellaneous cases of disability) is naturally enough adapted to the *sense* and not the *form* of the other words. Four cases, then, are enumerated in which estates liable to the Trierarchy might become so holden that the person or persons finally in possession of them would be exempt: (1) when they became the property of ἐπικληροί, (2) of ὀρφανοί, (3) of κληροῦχοι, or (4) of κοινωνοί. — Demosthenes' plan contemplates, it will be seen, a *net*, instead of a *gross*, 1200.

For the subject of the Trierarchy in general, with discussion of this whole passage (16–23), see Böeckh's *Public Economy of the Athenians*, Book IV, Chaps. XI–XV.

- 17 **Κελεύω**, *I move*. — **μέρη**: G. § 164, last example, p. 217. — **πρὸς τὸν εὐπορώτατον... τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους** (sing. and plur.), those deemed the richest forming a minority of the whole 1200. — **αἰεὶ**, *every time*; viz., in making up the several **μέρη**. — **ταῦτα**. Other persons still remain to be considered when the plan for *manning* the ships is presented (22). — **συντετάχθαι**. Compare (for the tense) ἵποκεῖσθαι (3), παρεσκευάσθαι (13), &c.; also ἡ συντεταγμένα below (19), σύνταξις... ἔσται (23, end). — **δι' ὃ δέ, κτλ.** Because the mutual correspondence in the parts of the organization will only appear after hearing the method of it in full (**ὅλον**).
- 18 **Πῶς**; sc. δεῖ συντετάχθαι; — **τριακοσίας** (pred.) **ἀποδείξαντας**: in itself an important part of the recommendation; anticipated above (13). — **τῶν πρώτων ἑκατόν, κτλ.** The ships being classified by hundreds, "the first, the second, and the third, which were successively to be brought

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- 16 **ἐπικληρικῶν** (as REISKE wished to read), st. ἐπικλήρων (all the Mss. and edd.). On what intelligible theory of Ellipsis "*χρημάτων*," or any word except σωμάτων, is to be supplied here, it is hard to see. The variation ὀρφανικῶν and ὀρφανῶν in the Mss. points toward the reading in the text, which seems necessary to both sense and grammar.

into active service at different times, and were therefore thus designated," regard is to be had to this classification in distributing them among the Symmories. — **τὴν πεντακ.** The Article has a distributive, or, as it appears in English, a possessive force. — **ἀποδοῦναι**: note the compound.

**Ἐπικληρῶσαι**: cf. *συγκληρῶσαι* above, that compound keeping in view 19 the correspondence between the parts of the organization. — **τὴν μὲν 20 δαπάνην...τριήραρχοι δέ**: viz., of one ship. — **τριάκοντα μὲν...ἕξ δέ**: requiring, of course, a rate twice as high as in the former case. — The members of the Symmories are, by this plan, to be employed as collectors of the tax levied to defray the *State's* portion of the naval expenses. But see Böckh.

τάλαντα	νῆες	τριήραρχοι
20) 6000 (τίμημα)	) 300	) 1200
5) 300	) 15	) 60 (συμμορία)
60	3	12 (μέρος)

The members of the Symmories, again (fourth item in the Plan), 21 are to apprise and collect, according to the official list, such of the naval equipments as are due to the state, remaining at present in the hands of former trierarchs. — **χρήστων**, i.e. *σκεύη ὀφειλόντων*. The exceptional accentuation is to distinguish between the noun and the adjective.

**Μετὰ ταῦτα λέγω**, *I am going to tell you next*. — **τῶν νεωρίων**, in the 22 ship-yards; possessive genitive in the predicate. — **ἑκάστον**, with **ταξί- 23 αρχον**. — Notice the position of **ἐκάστη**. — **τριττὺς**: *φυλῆς μέρος τρίτον*. Suidas. — **εἰς ὁδὸν καταστή**, *be reduced to method*. Cf. (with Weil) *ὁδῷ βαδίζει*, [Dem.] *Aristog.* I. 10. The usual word is *τρόπος*, especially in the phrase *κατὰ τρόπον*. — **εἰ...καί, κτλ.**, 'supposing we (you and I) have' (*καί*), &c. — **νῦν**, with the imperfect, much the same here as *νῦν δὴ* (*just now*), so common with this tense, especially in Plato. With **παρελείπομεν** the speaker concedes the possibility of omissions made in the course of presenting the details of his plan. — **μέρους**, sc. *παντός* (from *πασῶν*). Cf. (11).

**εἴκοσι νεῖμαι κελεύω μέρη**, st. *νεῖμαι κελεύω μέρη εἴκοσιν* (hiatus). 21

**παρελείπομεν**, Σ. Other readings, *παρελίπομεν, παραλείπομεν*. HESLOP, 23 on *F. L.* 65, says the reading of Σ here "cannot possibly stand."

**αὐθ' ἑαυτῷ τὸ πρᾶγμ' εὐρήσει**, (WEIL) st. *αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἑαυτῷ εὐρήσει* (h.).

*Ways and Means will be forthcoming, when a War is really coming, not before; meantime the News of Athens' Preparations for Defence will have a good effect upon the King (24-30).*

- 24 a. Ἦδη | ends the Colon: 'coming now to the question of funds, &c.' With πόρου φανεροῦ compare πλήρωσις σαφής (22). — παράδοξον μὲν οἶδα λόγον, sc. ὄντα. See on (13) a: GMT. § 113, N. 5, p. 230. Both noun and adjective are in the predicate, the relative clause being object. For the sentiment, and the rhetorical form, compare (with Weil) *Phil.* III. 5, Καὶ παράδοξον μὲν ἴσως ἐστὶν ὃ μέλλω λέγειν, ἀληθὲς δέ ...Τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; — τὰληθῆ καὶ τὰ γενησόμενα: cf. *F. L.* 204, συμφέροντα καὶ γενησόμενα. With the Article the assertion is more dogmatic.

b. Observe νυνί: ἤδη: εἰς τότε (twice): νῦν (twice, — first with πορίσαι): all with emphasis. — οὐδ' εἰς τότε: viz. ὅταν δέη. — οὕτω πολύ: so carefully; i.e. so as not to take that discouraging view of things (τήγησόμεθα, κτλ.). — ἔσται (ὑπάρξει) takes its subject from ὄν: G. § 156, N. p. 212. — Αἰνίγματι γὰρ ὅμοιον (∘∘∘∘). Perhaps Dem. wrote παρόμοιον, and παρ fell out after γαρ. In *Androt.* 2, εἰ μὴ τύχοι προσόμοιος ὦν τούτῳ, the compound seems to be used to avoid hiatus. — Αἰνίγματι: outbidding παράδοξον.

- 25 a. Ὅρατε τὴν πόλιν: the view from the seats of the Pnyx, commanding the Acropolis, &c. — ἔνεστιν | ὀλίγου: avoiding (∘∘∘). The Division is required by the sense. — πρὸς, to match. Cf. *Lept.* 31, πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπορίων ἀφικνούμενον ὃ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σῖτος εἰσπλέων ἐστίν. Similarly below (27). — For the Hyperbaton here (of εἰπεῖν, displacing and enforcing the attributives of πόλεις, all the cities of the world), cf. *Timocr.* 66, μικροῦ δέω παρ' (in defiance of) ἅπαντας εἰπεῖν τοὺς ὄντας ἐν τῇ πόλει (νόμους) τέθεικε τὸν νόμον.

b. Ταῦτα δ' οἱ κεκτημένοι, κτλ. Hyperbaton of this sort (instances are numerous) is employed less to emphasize the word displaced than to set it at the head as common *Theme* of the whole passage. Thus, here, Ταῦτα, belonging primarily to κεκτημένοι, has to do even with κεκτῆσθαι. Cf. Τοῦτο δ' ἂν διαδῶ ζητήσῃ (30). — The clauses with ὥς can be attached to φοβοῖεν because οἱ λέγοντες = οἱ λέγοντες λέγοντες. The subject, οἱ λέγ., is itself a technical expression (= οἱ ῥήτορες, οἱ παριόντες, &c.). — τούτοις (τοῖς λέγουσι), governed by ἴσοι: εἰ καὶ χρησμοδοὶ τοσοῦτοι φοβοῖεν. — χρησμοδεῖν, with contempt, as ραψωδεῖν above (12). The approach or rumor of war brought oracles and oracle-mongers out of

their holes in abundance. At the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, for example, πολλὰ μὲν λόγια ἐλέγετο, πολλὰ δὲ χρησμολόγοι ἦδον, ἐν τε τοῖς μέλλουσι πολεμήσειν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν. Thuc. II. 8.

Φοβερά | ἔργῳ: besides preventing elision, the Pause would of course 26 also save the depression of accent in oral delivery. — For ἔργῳ πρατόμενα, see the passage quoted on (1) a (p. 37). — Weil, who would have δοίη mean *offer* here (as if διδοίη), to avoid tautology, seems to overlook the effect of πρώτος: καὶ ἂν δοίη καὶ πρώτος δοίη. — μέρος τῶν ὄντων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, κτλ. Cf. Ol. I. 28, τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους (βοηθεῖν δεῖ), ἰὺ ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν ὧν..έχουσι μικρὸν ἀναλίσκοντες τὰ λοιπὰ καρπῶνται ἀδεῶς. — Χρήματα μὲν δὴ: resumptive of Ὑπὲρ δὲ χρημάτων, κτλ. (24). The μὲν prepares for a change to a new heading, though none comes at present.

The allusion publicly made to the inefficiency of the government *per se* in the matter under consideration is curious, but characteristic of Attic Literature. See, for example, with reference to military affairs, the speech of Lysias for Mantitheus (XVI), especially §§ 13, 16; to matters of trade, that against the Corn-sellers (XXII) *passim*.

Ὅσα, the sum which, &c. — πλείων ἐστὶ γέλως τοῦ μηδενός, were as 27 ridiculous as nothing at all. As to the tense, cf. Rhod. 30 (ἐστί for ἐσται): compare also εἶναι here (three lines above), of which Weil remarks that it is more *energetic* than ἐσεσθαι would have been. — τοῦ μηδενός: the μη- form regularly, in forming a substantive of the negative idea, with the Article. Soph. El. 1165, σὺ δέξαι μ' ἐς τὸ σὸν τόδε στέγος, Τὴν μηδὲν ἐς τὸ μηδέν. — εἰσφέρειν: not in Indirect Discourse (ἐρεῖ = propose). See GMT. p. 14, N. 3. — For εἰσολοεῖν, GMT. p. 41, N. 2, and on Meg. 4 (b) end. For θῶ, on ἐθηκα (37). — πεντηκοστήν (sc. μοῖραν), two per centum: of the τίμημα announced before (19). — οὗτοι, these gentlemen: οἱ ἐπαινοῦντες τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν. — ἄξια (sc. ἐστί): see the note on αἰσχρόν, Rhod. 28, b. Cf. above, πλείων ἐστί. — The audience is here addressed as an assembly of tax-payers, not as just before, collectors.

Νῦν μὲν, for the present. — ἐν καλλόνι, more handsomely: ἐν retains, 28 of course, its local meaning. Cf. Theoc. XV. 73, ἐν καλῷ εἰμές, we 're all right, i.e. not in the crowd. The remark of Dem. is dry; better yet, however, Lys. XXI. 14 (defendant deprecates confiscation), οἶμαι πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐπίστασθαι ὅτι τῶν ἐμῶν ἐγὼ πολὺν βελτίων ὑμῖν ἔσομαι ταμίας τῶν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ὑμῖν ταμιευόντων. — οὐκ ὀλίγος: see on Meg. 10 (οὐ μᾶλλον).

a. Οἶδε μὲν γε...ἀκούσεται δέ, κτλ. Note the position of γέ (like that of 29 γάρ, οὖν, &c. in similar connexion), which in effect belongs to the whole

sentence with its two contrasted members. *At any rate* (restatement of φόβος οὐκ ὀλίγος γένοιτ' ἂν, κτλ. in restricted but undeniable terms), while (μέν) *he knows*, &c...*he is to hear* (now), &c. Thus (μέν) γε often. Cf. (40) and *Meg.* 10.

**b. Τριήρεσιν:** instrumental dative with ἀπολίσσαντας. The construction is peculiar, but produced by the striving for a satisfactory arrangement. [*Chers.* 3, ταῖς κατηγορίαις ἀπὸ τούτων ἀποδρᾶναι, which I had quoted here, but afterwards withdrew as not strictly analogous, appears in Weil's note]. — διακοσίαις...ἑκατόν. The historical numbers, as given by Herodotus (VIII. 44, 48), are 378 and 180. The rhetorical (Athenian round) numbers usually given are 300 and 200: cf. *Cor.* 238. The Orator sets the figures low here, to heighten the effect as he passes from the "two hundred ships" once contributed by the *whole nation*, to the "three hundred" now to be furnished by *Athens alone* (αὐτοὺς = μόνους). Had he adopted the ordinary figuring, one step of his climax would have fallen out. [It must be admitted that the argument would not be *essentially* weakened if τριακοσίαις...διακοσίας stood in the place of διακ....ἑκ., as I find Weil offering grounds for believing that Dem. really wrote]. — χιλίας: a fair round number; 1207 acc. to Hdt. VII. 89.

**c. Ὡστε μὴ...νομίσει,** so that, though never so infatuated, he could not for a moment suppose. The infinitive with ὥστε forms (without the addition of ἂν) a sufficient apodosis for εἰ...μαίνοιτο, especially as that protasis intervenes. See GMT. § 23, 1, p. 30, with the Rem. on p. 13; and compare the note on συμμαχεῖσθαι (4), where ἂν is needed much more than it is here, to make the construction regular. See also on (4), at beginning. — ῥᾶδιόν τι, a trifling matter. — εἰ γε, κτλ.: γέ with the clause, instead of following the significant word (χρήμασιν). The particle, however, belongs also to Ἀλλὰ μὲν, as phrase (cf. *Meg.* 19). — ταύτην: assimilated to the form of the predicate noun, ἀφορμήν. Cf. *Meg.* 24, at end. For the omission of οὐσαν here, see above on ὁρῶν (13) a.

- 30 **a. Ὁ μὲν γε...Ἡμῖν δέ.** Much as above (29) a, but the connexion is broken here by expansion of the μὲν clause. 'He to be sure (μέν), &c.' Then finally Ἡμῖν δέ, with renewed force. — For τοῦτο, see on ταῦτα (25) b. — ζητήσῃ (ποθήσει) = *requiret* (*desiderabit*). Cic. *Leg. Manil.* II. 6, *quibus (vectigalibus) amissis...subsidia belli requiretis*. — καὶ (before γάρ), with the nouns: *even*. Cf. *Rhod.* 21. — ἀθρόα καὶ πολλά: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀθρόως καὶ πολλάκις. H. Wolf. — ἐκείνων: partitive genitive, as τῶν προγόνων below. The pronoun is chosen from the speaker's point of view (and that of the subject of ἀμυνόμεθα), not from that of the subject

of the leading clause : *such Barbarians* (see on 1, b) *as may attack us*. Compare αὐτοῦ, st. (τοὺς) αὐτοῦ, above (29), and with that, ἐαυτοῦ below (40). Variation of the pronoun often occurs (always naturally), as the same person is regarded, now objectively, now subjectively. E.g. Thuc. II. 13. 1, where within one sentence are found αὐτῷ, ἐαυτοῦ, ἐκείνου, all of the same man Pericles the subject.

**b. Μάλιστα ἂν εἴδειεν.** See GMT. Rem. on p. 113. So *Meg.* 15; *Rhod.* 23. Dem. means that if Ochus were to institute inquiries on this point (ὥς...ἀμυνόμεθα), his best informants would be found among his Marathonian forefathers. Weil quotes from the Epitaph of Æschylus:

'Αλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθῶνιον ἄλσος ἂν εἰποι,  
Καὶ βαθυχαιτήεις Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος.

— **ὥς δ' ἂν κρατῶμεν**, sc. αὐτῆς (from ὑπὲρ ἧς). Weil. The Ellipse, though idiomatic (G. § 156, N.), is characteristic of the style of this Oration. That the Athenians *could* hold their own ground is implied in the μέν sentence. See also (9).

It will be seen that Demosthenes makes the Epideictic portions of his own speech thoroughly organic.

*Conquest of Hellas by Hellenic Mercenaries under the King is unlikely to occur, being inexpedient for both Employer and Employed* (31, 32).

**a. Καὶ μὴν (οὐδέ) and οὐ μὴν οὐδέ** (32) are unlike. The former introduces a new heading which happens to contain a negative statement; the latter, a strong negation as such. — **Αἴγυπτον..καὶ (or) Ὀρόνταν.** In the one case the name of the Country, in the other that of the Person, is the more suggestive. Orontas, satrap of Mysia, had been ringleader and betrayer of a revolt against the King (Artax. Mnem.), B.C. 362. Ægypt, however, had remained in revolt from that time, but was finally conquered by Ochus. See *Rhod.* 11.

**b. Ἑλλάδα | Ἕλληνα.** The juxtaposition of reciprocal terms, frequent to excess in the Tragic style, is moderately common in Dem. E.g. μόνοι μόνῳ (*Onet.* I. 23), ἐχθρὸς ἐχθρῷ (*Timocr.* 140), ὀλίγοι πολλοῖς (*Rhod.* 18), &c. Here, with the Pause between, effectively. Cf. πάλαι | νῦν, *Rhod.* 2. As to Cola in this section, we have, further, ἡγοῦμαι | ἐπὶ (h.): κτησάμενος | ἀπαλλαγῇ (rh.). All these divisions primarily after the sense. So, of course, βαρβάρων | πολλούς, the latter word standing

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ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον μὲν and ἐπὶ τὴν δ', st. ἐπὶ μὲν Αἴγ. and ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν (rh.).

opposed to οὐδένα. — Observe the second ἡγοῦμαι, closing the Period with the word which opened it (Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι). The Rhetoricians, who put a label on everything, named this phenomenon Κύκλος: but the illustrations cited are far from striking.

c. Αὐτός, sc. ὁ Ἕλλην. What shall the conqueror do with himself after he has conquered? — Φρυγίαν, typical:

Φρὺξ ἀνὴρ πληγεὶς ἀμείνων καὶ διακονέστερος.

— δουλεύσει; The Barbarians are all slaves of their master the King (*Rhod.* 15); but Greeks

Οὐδενὸς δοῦλοι κέκληνται φωτὸς οὐδ' ὑπήκοοι.

[On Mercenaries in Greece, see Grote, XI, 392–394 (*Eng.*), 281, 282 (*Am. Ed.*). Note, as touching what Dem. says here, the last quotation there made from Isocrates (*Phil.* 121), λήσουσιν ἡμᾶς (οἱ πλανώμενοι δι' ἐνδειαν τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ λυμαινόμενοι οἷς ἂν ἐντύχωσιν) τοσοῦτοι γενόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε μηδὲν ἥττον αὐτοὺς εἶναι φοβεροῦς τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἢ τοῖς βαρβάροις.]

- 32 a. Ἔθῳ, institutions. — For δυστυχίης, see on the same word below (34) b. — τάφους: constant in the enumeration of objects that supply motives to patriotic virtue. A good example from Dem. is *F. L.* 267, Καὶ οὔτε τὸν ἥλιον ἡσχύνοινθ' οἱ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες οὔτε τὴν γῆν πατρίδ' οὔσαν, ἐφ' ἧς ἔστασαν, οὔθ' ἱερὰ οὔτε τάφους οὔτε τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα γενησομένην αἰσχύνην ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἔργοις. “Compare Lycurg. *Leocr.* 8, where he asks what punishment is severe enough for one..μη βοηθήσαντα...τοῖς πατρώοις ἱεροῖς, ἐγκαταλιπόντα δὲ τὰς τῶν προγόνων θήκας, ἅπασαν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὑποχείριον τοῖς πολεμίοις παραδόντα, and *Ib.* 17. In the exhortations with which the Greeks animated each other at the battle of Salamis, the θῆκαι προγόνων are named with wives, children, and the temples of the gods, as cherished objects to be fought for, that they might not lose in the possession of the enemy the honour due to them.” Heslop. — πατρίδα | εἵνεκα.

b. Οὐδ' ἐκείνῳ: the King no more than the Greeks themselves. For οὐ μὴν οὐδέ, besides what is said above (31) a, compare on οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ (*G.* p. 40): repetition without assimilation here. — οἱ..ἡμῶν κρατήσαντες (note the tense) = οἱ ἂν ἡμῶν κρατήσωσιν (*GMT.* p. 27, seventh, eighth, and ninth examples). — ἐκείνου γε πάλαι κρείττους ὑπάρχουσιν, ‘(must) have been all the time (π.) superior to him.’ See *GMT.* p. 5, N. 3. [Weil, who neatly says that πάλαι here is the opposite of σχολῇ, finds more of

peculiarity in the present use of the word than is really there: *παλαι* merely enlarges a thought already contained in *ὑπάρχειν*, *to be from the beginning*. It is of course purely temporal, and conveys an *à fortiori* effect only by implication.]

c. *Οὐκ*, as usual in such instances, has nothing to do with the infinitive. — *ἐπ' ἄλλους εἶναι* (= *ἐπ' ἄλλων ἄρχεσθαι*), *ἀλλὰ...ἄρχειν*: avoiding antithesis of *form*. Note, in this connexion, that *ἄρχειν* forms a Colon by itself. — *μάλιστα μὲν* (if possible)...*εἰ δὲ μή γε γέ*, logically belonging to what follows, stands where it does for rhetorical reasons. — *νῦν* has stepped out of the attributive position. A stronger case of the same Hyperbaton is *Phil. I. 10*, *Νῦν δὲ τί χρὴ τὰ γιγνόμεν' ἡγεῖσθαι*; (st. *τὰ νῦν γιγν.*). Here the effect is softened by *ἐαυτῷ* having gone over along with *νῦν*. It should be observed that the arrangement in this case is not due to any motives of rhythm or hiatus (*τῶν ἐαυτῷ νῦν ὑπαρχόντων*). The formal motives are the secondary ones always, but they are harmonized with those of sense by Dem. with astonishing skill. See on (9) b (p. 40).

The arguments advanced in this paragraph (31, 32) are of a sentimental nature, with a cast of sophistry; and the same is true of those which immediately follow (33, 34). They appeal, however, to generous sentiments, which we know to have been instinctive with Dēmosthenes. The Orator could not afford to let anything that had been advanced on the other side go unanswered, and he speaks from his heart in answering; but he has given to his reply on these points, it will be observed, the position usually assigned to weak forces.

*The Thebans are unlikely to join the Persian a second time against Hellas; and even their Defection would secure the Loyalty of Others* (33, 34).

*Ἔστι μὲν...οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, κτλ.* — *οὐδὲν...ἀγαθόν* (obj.); (*οὐδ' ἂν*) *ἀληθές* 33 (pred.), *even though it be true*.

a. *Τοῦ...ποτ' ἂν ἐλθεῖν*, *from being likely ever to come*. See GMT. p. 34 61, N. 4, for this and for *ᾧστε, κτλ.* — *πολλῶν ἂν χρημάτων...πρίασθαι γενέσθαι, κτλ.*, *would pay heavy sums to get, &c.* The Greek and English idioms thus regularly differ, 'take for a price' and 'give a price for,' whether the ordinary words and construction be employed, as here, or variations of these. *Plat. Apol. 41 A*, *Ὁρφεὶ ξυγγενέσθαι...ἐπὶ πρὸς ἂν τις δέξαιτο ὑμῶν*; *Dem. Ol. I. 1*, *Ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἂν...χρημάτων ὑμᾶς*



ἐλέσθαι νομίζω, εἰ, κτλ. — πολλῶν: this adjective is, as a rule, far stronger in usage than its English synonym, in accordance with the *quantity* (— —) of most of its forms, — a force appreciable independently of the effects of arrangement, an appended ἄν, &c. The opening sentences of *Ol. I.*, *Ol. II.*, *Phil. III.*, afford good illustrations of the weight it can support.

**b. Τὰς προτέρας...ἀμαρτίας.** Namely, when they joined the army of Xerxes and fought against Hellas (*Hdt. VIII. 34*). The Thebans were never allowed to hear the last of this. Their sensitiveness on the point is brought out in a memorable passage of *Æschines (Cor. 116)*. The Athenians had inscribed on shields consecrated in the Delphian temple τὸ προσῆκον ἐπίγραμμα "Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων ὅτε τάναντία τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐμαχοντο." — ἄρα: as many are inclined to think. Cf. (5), (13), &c. — Join οὕτω παντάπασιν δυστυχεῖς. — **δυστυχεῖς**: euphemistic, as we call certain kinds of sinners (and fools) 'unfortunate.' Cf. *F. L.* 265, δι' ἀβελτερίαν...μᾶλλον δὲ (or rather) διὰ δυστυχίαν. *Lys. XIV. 41*, πρὸς μὲν τὴν πόλιν δεδυστυχήκασιν, ἄλλως δὲ κόσμιοί εἰσι καὶ σωφρόνως βεβιώκασιν. *Isocr. Areop. 49*, τοὺς εὐτραπέλους δὲ καὶ τοὺς σκώπτειν δυναμένους, οὓς νῦν εὐφρεῖς (smart) προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐκεῖνοι δυστυχεῖς ἐνόμιζον. Note the effect of φύσει in the connexion. So *Ar. Plut. 118*, ἄθλιος φύσει. — Observe the sudden turn the argument here (εἰ δ' ἄρα) takes. 'Those who believe that Medism is bred in the grain of the Thebans, may rest the more assured that, &c.' — **τοὺς τούτων ἐχθρούς**: the Phocians, Weil says, now engaged in the Sacred War. These, to be sure; but not less the Lacedæmonians, standing enemies of the Thebans and allies of the Phocians in the war.

*Only a strong Defensive Policy, as urged before, will suit the circumstances of the time; with Such a Policy, another Persian War, if any come, will prove again a Blessing to the Greeks (35–40).*

- 35 **Τάξιν τοῦ δικαίου.** For the Trope, see on *Rhod. 33*. — In μετ' αὐτῆς (μετά) there is a virtual personification of τάξις, as also, indeed, in the coördination of τὴν τάξιν with the personal subject of κρείττους...ἔσσεσθαι. — τῶν προδοτῶν, i.e. τῶν τάκεινον φρονούντων Ἑλλήνων. — **βαρβάρου** (ἔσσεσθαι, or **βαρβάρου | ἔσσεσθαι** (?)). — **πρὸς ἅπαντας**: redundant, but gives the Colon a vigorous ending. This policy (3–7) will prevail against the world, Dem. means, no matter how many Traitors or Barbarians there may be on the other side. — **ἐκφέρειν, κτλ.**, of aggressive warfare. Cf. *Isoc. Phil. 88*, δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς βουλευομένους μὴ πρότερον ἐκφέ-

ρειν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον, πρὶν ἂν διαλλάξῃ τις τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Also in the Hypothesis (p. 37).—Observe the Alliteration (τ. π.) in this passage (35).

**a.** Πολλῶν, *countless*. See above, on (34) a (p. 51).—ἐπαδὴ δέ | The 36 strength of φῶλον, in the antithesis with ἐχθρόν, calls for the Division, which avoids (⊂⊂⊂).—διαφόρων: distinguish from διαφορῶν (12). (διάφορα : διαφοραί = διαφέρει [τισί] : διαφέρουσί [τινες]).—ὅσα οὐ(δέ)...τοσαῦτα, *more...than*: a regular difference of idiom. The vigorous arrangement (relative clause first, demonstrative second), seen here and in the following sentence, is of frequent occurrence.

The complaint here made regarding the demeanor of the Greeks toward the King was a standing one of the time (since the Peace of Antalcidas); reiterated in the discourses of Isocrates.

**b.** Ἡ τύχη καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον. In this phrase, which is only an example of one species of the Demosthenic Couplet, the latter term expresses in its least concrete and vaguest form the idea specialized in the former. Cf. *F. L.* 239, οἱ θεοὶ...καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον. *Mid.* 126, ὁ θεός, ὃ χορηγὸς ἐγὼ καθειστήκειν, καὶ τὸ τῆς ὀσίας, ὅτι δὴ ποτ' ἐστί, συνηδίκηται.—In φῶλον μὲν ἀλυσιτελῆ, κτλ., note the Chiasmus and the Oxymoron.—Μηδέ, *likewise not*. *None the more* (Weil).

**a.** Ἐπεὶ (elliptical, as often; cf. *Rhod.* 13, 15) introduces the motive 37 of what has just been said, αὐτῶν ἡμῶν εἵνεκα, κτλ., 'I speak as I do, not out of any regard for *him*; for certainly, &c.' For the sentiment, compare (3) τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου, κτλ., and the note (p. 39).—ἐκεῖνον | ἀδίκημα. The Division, required by sense and construction, avoids (⊂⊂⊂). [Weil, with no rhythmical principles in view, warns against connecting ἀδικεῖν and ἀδίκημα, which would indeed be on all grounds most perverse.]

**b.** Ἔθηκε, *set down as*: strictly said of a λογιστής or accountant. *Ol. I.* 10 well illustrates the metaphor: Καὶ ἐμοίγε δοκεῖ τις ἂν, ὧ ἄ. Ἀ., δίκαιος λογιστῆς τῶν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἡμῖν ὑπηργμένων καταστάς, καίπερ οὐκ ἐχόντων ὡς δεῖ πολλῶν, ὅμως μεγάλην ἂν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς χάριν, εἰκότως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πόλλ' ἀπολωλέκεναι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀμελείας ἂν τις θεῖη δικαίως, τὸ δὲ μήτε πάλαι τοῦτο πεπονθέναι πεφηνέναι τε τιν' ἡμῖν συμμαχίαν τούτων ἀντίτροπον, ἂν βουλόμεθα χρῆσθαι, τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων εὐνοίας εὐεργέτημ' ἂν ἐγωγε θεῖην. For the Aorist here (with ἄν), see *GMT.* § 49, 2, N. 5, p. 101. So *Rhod.* 14. Note the Oxymoron again.—For τὰ δίκαια, κτλ., cf. *Rhod.* 25, and the note. What Dem. says here and in the following section is recapitulatory; see (4, 5) and (12, 13).

- 38 The reason, says Weil, why the Orator wrote **ὅτ' οὐ πείσονται** instead of **ὅτ' οὐ πείσετε**, which would have conformed exactly to the following **ὅτ' οὐ δυνήσεσθε**, is this: — forced by the parallelism of the two phrases to suppress the object of **συγκαλοῦντες**, he chose to bring that object (the Greeks) to view by the intermediate form **πείσονται**, of which the Greeks are the subject, **ὅτ' οὐ πείσονται** being virtually equivalent to **τοὺς νῦν οὐ πεισομένους**. — **ἀπαγγέλλεσθαι μέν**. To the reports the King is to receive, the reflexions he will make on them stand opposed. The contrasted expression, instead of being introduced by **δέ**, assumes a new form, **καὶ ταῦτ' ἂν ἐπὶ σκοπεῖν αὐτῷ** (39). Weil. — **μή**, after **βούλεσθε, κτλ.**, carrying on the command in the form of a prohibition. Compare **οὐκ**, after **βούλεται**, above (32). — **πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι**. Such phrases are common. E.g. **τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Πελοπόννησον**, *F. L.* 303. With comic effect, *Ar. Av.* 997, **Μέτων, ὃν οἶδεν Ἑλλὰς χῶ Κολωνός**.
- 39 a. **Ἕλλησιν**: Dative of Reference. *G.* § 184, 5, p. 232. — **ὁμοίως αἰσχρὸν... ὥσπερ ἐκείνῳ καλόν**. Epigrammatic statement of Barbarian perfidy. A noteworthy similar expression is *Lept.* 109, **Μεῖζον, ὡ ἄ. Ἀ., Θηβαῖοι φρονοῦσιν ἐπ' ὁμότητι καὶ πονηρίᾳ ἢ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ τῷ τὰ δίκαια βούλεσθαι**. — **πάσαι ἂν**: unobjectionable hiatus. — **ὑμῶν ἕνεκ' αὐτῶν**: the same thought as in **αὐτῶν ἡμῶν εἵνεκα**, above (36). The prudential consideration outweighs the purely ethical, — a saving quality in the statesmanship of Dem. Cf. *Meg.* 8, 10; *Rhod.* 28; &c.
- b. **Ἦνπερ ποτὲ τοὺς προγόνους**: assimilated, under the influence of **λαβεῖν παράνοیان ἐκείνον**, for **ἦπερ** (sc. **ἔλαβε**) **τοὺς πρ.** Were **λαβεῖν** in the construction of Indirect Discourse, the assimilation would not be unusual (nor the ellipse necessary): see *GMT.* p. 193. Here, after **εὐχέσθε... λαβεῖν** (*GMT.* § 23, 1), it is remarkable, and we should expect **ἦνπερ ποτὲ φασι, κτλ.** **ποτέ** certainly helps the case. The whole is characteristic of the compressed style of this speech. — That **παράνοیان** and **ἦνπερ** should be subj. (not obj.) is according to usage: cf. *Æsch. Pers.* 750 (Darius' ghost, of Xerxes), **πῶς τὰδ' οὐ νόσος φρενῶν Εἶχε παῖδ' ἐμόν;**
- 40 a. For **μέν γε**, see on (29) a (p. 47). — **συννοῖδε**, *he knows perfectly well*; i.e. he shares the general knowledge of the facts. The compound is often so used as to require only the most indefinite sort of a complement for the preposition. — **ἥς ἡγέ ποτε**: i.e. **πρὸ τούτων τῶν πολέμων ἢ πόλις**. — The restriction, **τοσοῦτον ὅσον νῦν**, says Weil, is added, though not exactly in accord with **οὐδεμῶς**, from a sort of *retrospective patriotism*. — For **ὑπεαίρουσαν**, *GMT.* § 16, 2, p. 17.

If Athens once, when a comparatively humble state, greatly profited by a defensive war with Persia, much more will she gain from another now, considering the eminence she has to start with. This is the inference Dem. expects the Barbarian to draw from what he sees and hears. — Quite different is the view here taken from the usual one of the epideictic orator, which assumes that Athens was selected as point of attack by reason of her preëminence. [Lys.] *Or. Fun.* 21, ἡγησόμενοι δέ (οἱ βάρβαροι), εἰ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ἢ ἐκοῦσαν φίλην ποιήσαιντο ἢ ἀκουσαν καταστρέψαιντο, ῥαδίως τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἀρξεν, ἀπέβησαν εἰς Μαραθῶνα.

b. Ἦτοι τινὸς ἐκουσίου (υυυ). The words are closely connected in sense, and a hiatus would result from transposing them. — τοῦτον δέ, *and that*; the latter (ἀκούσιον), of course. The passage calls to mind, by contrast, Isocrates' pressing invitations to King Philip, that he step in "προστῆναι τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁμονοίας," &c. — In Thuc. IV. 60, the Syracusan Hermocrates, appealing to Sicilian patriotism, calls the Athenians "διαλλακτὰς πολὺ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἀναγκαιότερους": a passage, remarks Weil, which Dem. may possibly have had in mind. — φανέντα: not only more rhythmical than γενόμενον would have been, but otherwise elegant. Cf. Æsch. *Prom.* 613, ὦ κοινὸν ὠφέλημα θνητοῖσιν φανείς, Τληῆμον Προμηθεῦ. — πόλεμον κινώ, *stir up war*. The verb is appropriately used of meddling with what should be let alone. Thuc. I. 82, ὅπλα μήπω κινεῖν (from the speech of King Archidamus to the Spartans, against entering on the war with Athens, — a speech which the present oration of Dem. resembles in tenor).

### Ἐπίλογος (41).

a. Τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἐχθροὺς: see (11). Here, again, especially in 41 βασιλέα καὶ πάντας, the speaker betrays his contempt of the Persian question as such, and brings the true purpose of his recommendations clearly to view. — ἀμύνεσθαι δέ | βασιλέα. The Division (in accordance with the rhythm) is called for by the sense: βασιλέα thus thrown into prominence is stronger than the ordinary καί..καί could make it. Cf. *Ol.* II. 24, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους σεσώκατε πολλάκις | πάντας καὶ καθ' ἐν αὐτῶν ἐν μέρει | τὰ δ' ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἀπολωλεκότες κάθησθε. See also on

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βασιλέα, Σ. καὶ βασιλέα, *vulg.*

ἄρχειν μηδενὸς δ' ἀδίκου μήτε λόγου μήτ' ἔργου, st. ἀρχειν δὲ μηδενὸς 41 ἀδίκου, κτλ., (WEIL υυυυ) st. ἀρχειν δὲ μηδενὸς μήτε λόγου μήτ' ἔργου ἀδίκου (h.).

παραινούντων, *Meg.* 9, a, and compare the critical notes there and here. — Observe **φημι δεῖν** — instead of allowing **κελεύω** to serve for the second member: one thing is urged, the propriety of the other is of course admitted.

**δ. Τὰ δ' ἔργα...μὴ τοὺς λόγους**: recurring to the significant antithesis which runs through the Proem, and indeed pervades the whole speech. An opportunity to disclaim the possession of *δεινότης* for himself, or to inveigh against it in others, was always a welcome one to the Greek speaker. That Demosthenes should have availed himself of such an opportunity in his earliest published harangue is, to us who know the sincerity of the Orator in this regard, a doubly interesting fact. *Ἄπας λόγος, ἂν ἀπὴ τὰ πράγματα, μάταιόν τι φαίνεται καὶ κενόν.* — **πάναντία**, sc. *ἐμοί*. — **νῦν ἀμαρτόντες**. The expression forms, grammatically, a part of the negative statement, but rhetorically it is a sort of Snapper to the Whip. So Pericles, in his time,

— *μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων*  
*Τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις.*

## ON ORATION XVI.

As immediate Introduction to the Speech for the Megalopolitans, see Grote XI, 405–408 (*Eng.*), 290–292 (*Am. Ed.*); Curtius V, 259–263. In general, the Oration calls not only for a fair acquaintance with the events of Grecian History during the first half of the Fourth Century, but for considerable sympathy with the spirit of Hellenic Politics. See especially the last Chapter of Vol. IV of Curtius (containing accounts of the founding of Megalopolis and Messene), and the second Chapter of Vol. V (*The Policy of Athens*).

### Προοίμιον (1–3).

**Ἦκοντες** and **ἀφιγμένων** (opp. to **πολίται** and **ἐνθάδε** respectively) are 1 words chosen to mark with effect (censure) the distinction between citizens of Athens and envoys *from abroad*. — **ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀφ' ἐκατέρων** (⊂⊂⊂⊂). Not easy to mend. — **ὑμῶν**: emphasized by separation from its relative. Cf. *Sym.* 4. — **Ἦν**, *were* (**ἔργον**)... **Νῦν δέ** (2). See GMT. p. 97. — **κοινῶς** is sufficiently interpreted by **ἄνευ φιλονεικίας**.

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### ΛΙΒΑΝΙΟΥ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι νικηθέντες ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐν Λεύκτροις τῆς Βοιωτίας εἰς κίνδυνον μέγαν κατέστησαν, ἀποστάντων Ἀρκάδων καὶ προσθεμένων τοῖς Θηβαίοις, Ἀθηναῖοι σύμμαχοι Λακεδαιμονίοις γενόμενοι διέσωσαν αὐτούς. ὕστερον δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν κινδύνων ἀπαλλαγέντες καὶ προϊόντες πάλιν εἰς δύναμιν ἐπὶ Μεγάλῃν πόλιν τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἤρχοντο, καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρεκάλουν διὰ πρεσβείας κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς τοῦ πολέμου. πεπόμφασι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μεγαλοπολίται πρέσβεις Ἀθήναζε παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν. ὁ τοίνυν Δημοσθένης συμβουλεύει μὴ περιορᾶν ἀναιρεθεῖσαν Μεγάλῃν πόλιν μηδὲ εἰς ἰσχὺν προελθόντας Λακεδαιμονίους, συμφέρειν λέγων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ μὴ φοβερὰν εἶναι τὴν Λακεδαίμονα.

- 2 **a.** **Αὐτῶν** (i.e. τῶν ἐκατέροις συνειρηκότων), with **ἀφ' ἑλίου**. Their insignia of Athenian citizenship, says Demosthenes, are their Attic speech and their familiar faces, not the sentiments they express. Take away the former, and... — **πολλούς, κτλ.**, *that almost everybody, &c.* See on πολλῶν, *Sym.* 34, a (p. 52). — **αὐτῶν**: partitive genitive with **τοὺς μέν...** **τοὺς δέ, Ἄρκ.** and **Δάκ.** being predicative. — **τῇ φωνῇ**, above, is inserted to enforce the purely material notion in **λέγειν**. Cf. *Ol.* I. 2, λέγει φωνὴν ἀφ' ἑλίου.

**b.** **Ἐγὼ δέ**: not to dwell on criticism of others. Cf. *Sym.* 9; *Rhod.* 1; &c. — **ὁρῶ μέν... οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, κτλ.** (3). — **συνεξηπατημένων, κτλ.** The hearers have been drawn into the delusion of the speakers themselves, and the assembly is divided in sentiment, without thought of a middle course or patience to hear of one. With reference to the facts, Weil compares *Ol.* II. 29. See Curtius V, 126. — With the deictic **ταυτί.. ταυτί**, compare *Cor.* 232, πάνν γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο, οὐχ ὁρᾷς; γέγονεν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ ῥῆμα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθην ἐγώ, ἡ δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα, ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνευκα. — **τὶ μεταξύ.** *Plat. Rep.* VI. 511 D, ὡς μεταξύ τι δόξης τε καὶ νοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν οὔσαν.

- 3 **Αὐτός** stands opposed to **τισίν**. By the latter word Dem. means influential speakers of the Laconian party whom he might name, Phocion perhaps, for example. — **ἂν ἄρα τοῦτο πάθω** (*if I must*): i.e. **ἂν ἄρα τύχω** (φλυαρεῖν δοκῶν). For **ἄρα**, see on *Sym.* 5 (p. 39). — **παρ' αὐτοῦ** = **παρὰ ταῦθ' αὐτοῦ**. Compare **παρὰ νόμον**. — **ὑμᾶς**: object of **προέσθαι**, primarily. — For **βουλομένοις**, see GMT. § 112, N. 8, p. 229. — **τὰ μέν.. ἀλλὰ** (14–29)... **ἀπὸ τῶν δ' ὁμολογουμένων** (4–13).

*The Security of Athens demands that Sparta shall not become too Strong at the Expense of Thebes, nor the Reverse of this occur* (4, 5).

- 4 **a.** **Συμφέρεται τῇ πόλει, κτλ.** In the Speech against Aristocrates, written within a year after this one, Dem. says, § 102, Ἴσθ' ὅτι συμφέρεται τῇ πόλει μήτε Θηβαίους μήτε Λακεδαιμονίους ἰσχύειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μέν (to the former) Φωκέας ἀντιπάλους, τοῖς δ' ἄλλους τινὰς εἶναι· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει μεγίστοις οὐσιν ἀσφαλῶς οἰκεῖν. Mr. Grote remarks on this point (XI, 407. *Eng.*, 291 *Am.*) as follows:

- 2 **περιμένετε**, Cod. F and others. **περιμένετε**, Σ. I have allowed the Rhythm to determine the reading. Either tense would do, of course, but the Aorist is especially good with **μαθεῖν** (**ἂν μὴ θελήσητε μαθεῖν**).

- 3 **ἀπὸ τῶν δ'**, st. **ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν** (rh.).

“While, however, affirming a general maxim, in itself questionable and perilous, Dem. deduces from it nothing but judicious consequences.” Questionable and perilous “in rendering the Pan-hellenic aggregate comparatively defenceless against Philip or any skilful aggressor from without,” the Historian means. But it may reasonably be asked whether measures for security against destruction from *within* (Hellas) ought not to take precedence of those against destruction from without. — **τουτουςί**, with gesture of contempt. **Φίλιππον τουτονὶ τὸν Μακεδόνα** (*Aristocr.* 111): **Μεγαρέας τουτουςὶ τοὺς καταράτους** (*Ib.* 212).

**b.** **Ἔστι τοίνυν** (*now*): cf. (11), and for **ἔστιν** initial, see on *Rhod.* 2, **a.** — **νῦν**, *at present*. Note the position of the word, and compare *Sym.* 26, &c. — **εἰ τι δεῖ, κτλ.** The speaker gives it to be understood that he does not present merely his own estimate of the probabilities of the case. Cf. *Rhod.* 22, and the note, **a.** — **ἐν τινι τοιούτῳ καιρῷ... ὥστε Θ. μὲν... ἀσθενεῖς γενέσθαι, Δ. δὲ... πάλιν ἰσχυροὺς γενήσεσθαι.** The sense is, that while the Thebans are on the point of becoming completely enfeebled, the Lacedæmonians, if allowed to pursue their present designs, will recover their former power. The construction of **γενέσθαι** is regular; that of **γενήσεσθαι** is exceptional (*GMT.* p. 42, b), but natural in connexion with the intervening protasis, **εἰ ποιήσονται, κτλ.** (Assimilation of Tense). Demosthenes falls little short of Thucydides in his proneness to enlarge the use of the Future Infinitive.

**a.** **Τούσδε, the latter.** — **πρότερον... ἤ.** We must take care, says Dem., 5 lest, because one of our enemies is going down, we allow the other to get up too high in the *meantime*. Something good for us is going to happen to Thebes; but something bad for us may happen to Sparta *sooner*. In what follows, **καὶ λάθωσιν, κτλ.**, this thought is expanded so as to show that the two events have a mutual dependence, and that a one-sided policy — the Miso-theban, for example — might result in *too much of a good thing*. In order not to disturb the balance of power desirable for Athens, one of the hostile parties must become **τοσούτῳ μόνον μείζους ὥστε τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐλάττους συμφέρει γενέσθαι**, and vice versa.

**b.** For (**Οὐκ**).. **ἂν εἴπομεν ὥς.. βουλόμεθα**, see *GMT.* p. 52, 3, and the N. [It seems more probable that Dem. left out **ἂν** — if for no other reason, at least for euphony in a clause which contains the syllable three times already — than that it has fallen out of the Mss., or that he wrote the (after the negative) less neat **βουλόμεθα**.] — **ἀνταλλάξασθαι, κτλ.**: explained below (20–22). — **μετὰ πλείστης ἀδείας**: cf. **ἀσφαλῶς οἰκεῖν** in the passage quoted on (4) **a.**



*A Defensive Alliance between Athens and Megalopolis were not only No Act of Hostility toward Sparta, but Expedient in the Interest of the Peace (6-10).*

- 6 (**Ἄλλὰ**) **νῆ Δία**, (*At*) *hercle*: standing formula in the rhetorical figure, *ὑποφορά*, *subjectio*. Cf. *Sym.* 12. — For the arrangement **πρὸς οὓς...τούτους**, see on *ὅσα...τοσαῦτα*, *Sym.* 36, a (p. 53). — **εἴτα** (for *καὶ*τα), **κτλ.**, (*and*) *thus are to*, &c. An asyndeton of frequent occurrence. — **τοῦ**: agreeing with the words following it in the sentence, which together form a phrase equivalent to an indeclinable noun; quite different from *τοῦ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν τοὺς ἑτέρους*. The phrase contains the exact words of a condition that must be added (**προσδεῖσθαι**) to the supposed objection, to make it a fair one (and to remove it). For Dem. would himself say, *δεινὸν εἰ τοῦτοις βοηθήσομεν, τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθελόντων τῶν ἑτέρων*. — For *ἑτεροι*, see on *οὐδένες*, *Sym.* 1, c (p. 38).
- 7 **Εἰ μὲν...Ἐὰν δέ** (8). — **τοίνυν** (*igitur*), *I say*. — **οὐ βοηθήσομεν**: *βοηθῆσαι* being something more than *συμμαχεῖν*. — **ἡμῖν** (*ἔσται*), *on our part*. — **τοὺς ἀντιπαραταξαμένους**: i.e. those who arrayed themselves *against each other* at Mantinea, as the following division (**οἱ μὲν...οἱ δέ**) shows (Weil). Dem. is concerned not merely to defend the course he advises against the imputation that it involves hostility to Sparta, but to show that it is the only one which is fair toward *both* Spartans and Megalopolitans, mutual enemies as they are. — **οἱ μὲν**, as one of the parties,...**οἱ δέ**, so the other (i.e. the Megalopolitans). — **ὥς φασιν**: referring, with irony, to the stress laid by the Spartan envoys (and the Philo-laconian speakers) on the existing alliance. — **τί ἄλλο;** i.e. *ἡ ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῖν συμμάχων ὄντων ἅπαντας εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐθέλειν*.
- 8 a. **Ἐὰν δ' ἀδικῶσι, κτλ.** While the symmetry (with *Εἰ μὲν...ἅπαντες*, above) would give merely *τινές* as subject here, the drift of the passage easily suggests *Λακεδαιμόνιοι*. — **εἰ μὲν...βουλευτέον** (*ἔστιν*) ~ **εἰ δ'...ἐπίστασθ' ὅτι, κτλ.** Subdivision of the second main alternative (*Ἐὰν δ' ἀδικ.*). Of these sub-alternatives, the first contains an apparent concession; the second introduces by surprise the new argument of Messene: an arrangement of extreme rhetorical cleverness and persuasive force. With the concession here made for argument's sake (**δίκαιον μὲν οὐ, συγχωρῶ δέ**), compare that in *Rhod.* 28, where see the Remarks under b. — **τοῖς γε, κτλ.**: **γέ** indicates that such a thing might be done to oblige those companions in arms *if anybody*. There is a touch of irony.

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7 **ἀντιπαραταξαμένους**, Σ. *συμπαρταξαμένους*, *vulg.*

**b. "Οτι | ταύτην.** Division after **ὅτι** (rather than before it) here, is in keeping with the prominence of **ταύτην**, whose emphatic position will be noted. "That the Greeks were inclined to connect **ὅτι** with what precedes is shown by such common phrases as *δῆλον ὅτι, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι*, without following verb." Blass. Add the frequent occurrence of the same division in iambic verse: e.g. *Æsch. Prom.* 104, *γινώσκονθ' ὅτι Τὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐστ' ἀδήριτον σθένος. Ib.* 259, 323, 328, 377, &c. — Observe the anapaestic movement, **ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην, | φρασάτω τις ἐμοὶ τῶν νῦν χαλεπῶν.** It will be seen, however, that this rhythm does not run through any single Colon, though it covers a part of two. Without complete coincidence of verse-measure and colon, there is no verse — a fact overlooked by many who have undertaken to scent out verses in the orators.

**a. 'Αλλ' οὐδείς ἐρεῖ.** "Sed nemo dicet, ne sibi manifesto contradicat; 9 ...si dicere vellet, fateri cogeretur...arma sumenda esse." G. Schæfer. The Orator holds his opponents up to view for a moment, as it were, in their predicament. — **Καὶ μὲν,** *The fact is.* — **παραινούντων τούτων καὶ μή** = *ἀν (τε) παραινωσιν οὗτοι (οἱ Μεσσήνιοι) ἀν τε μή.* Cf. *Æsch. Eum.* 468, *εἰ δικαίως εἴτε μή.* With the correlative to **καὶ** omitted, there is a gain in force, the Pause coming after **ὥς**. See on **ὅτι** above (8) b, and cf. *βασιλέα καὶ πάντας, Sym.* 41, and the note, a (p. 55). — **μή | βοηθητέον.** Cf. *Plat. Gorg.* 487 A, *τὸν μέλλοντα βασανεῖν ἱκανῶς ψυχῆς πέρι | ὀρθῶς τε ζώσης καὶ μή | τρία ἄρα δεῖ ἔχειν, κτλ.* •

**b. Καὶ διὰ τοὺς ὅρκους...καὶ διὰ τὸ συμφέρον.** See the maxim with which the paragraph closes, *Δεῖ δέ, κτλ.* As to the covenant with the Messenians, Pausanias relates (IV. xxviii. 1 and 2, cited by Weil) that at the beginning of the Sacred War they appealed to Athens for protection against Sparta, and that the Athenians *ἐς μὲν τὴν Λακωνικὴν οὐποτε μετ' ἐκείνων ἐσβαλεῖν ἔφασαν, ἀρχόντων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων πολέμου καὶ ἐπιστρατευόντων τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ παρέσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ σφισιν ἐπηγγέλλοντο.* — **κατοικεῖσθαι:** i.e. *μὴ ἀνάστατον εἶναι.* Cf. *Μεσσήνην εἶναι*, below (10), and *τὰς οὔσας καὶ κατοικουμένας πόλεις* (25).

**c. Ποτέραν...Λακεδαιμονίῳς,** which will be the handsomer and more generous beginning for you to make of preventing the Lacedæmonians from wronging you. The Article with **ἀρχήν** (rendering the adjectives predicative), because it is assumed that the one or the other of the two beginnings is to be made at all events. The emphatic position of **ὑμᾶς** (the reflexive is not necessary), to strengthen the antithesis with the parties ostensibly to be defended, Megalopolitans and Messenians.

- 10 **Νῦν μὲν**: if the question before the assembly be decided as Dem. now recommends; **τότε δέ**: if the Athenians wait until the Lacedæmonians shall have taken the second step, in attacking Messene. Cf. *Sym.* 12. For **γέ**, see on *Sym.* 29, a (p. 47). — **δόξετε** and **εὐδηλοί**, with reference to *ποτέραν τὴν ἀρχὴν καλλίονα*, above. A due regard for appearances, with a consequent sense of national pride, is a trait of Dem. which sets him high above the mere philosopher, who is incapable of reconciling the *δόξα* and the *ἔργον*. Cf. *Rhod.* 2, at end; 8, at end. — **τὴν εἰρήνην... ὑπὲρ ἧς, κτλ.** The Peace, such as it was: *ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ παραχῇ ἐτι πλείων πετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἢ πρόσθεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι*. Xen. *Hell.* VII. v. 27. — **οὐ... μᾶλλον... ἤ**: a genuine Litotes. Dem. has not taken up with the Thucydidean fondness for this figure. Examples are not too numerous. *Sym.* 28, 39; *Rhod.* 16, 18; &c. — In the concluding sentence observe *συμ-, παρα-, ἅμα, καί*. The sentiment is thoroughly characteristic of Demosthenes' Hellenic statesmanship.

*A Refusal of Sparta to assist in recovering Oropus cannot honorably be urged as a possible result of the proposed Alliance (11–13).*

- 11 a. **Ἔστι τοίνυν**. The particle is transitional here. The phrase itself (with **λόγος, κτλ.**) is formulaic. *Lept.* 112, *Ἔστι τοίνυν τις πρόχειρος λόγος*. The same, *F. L.* 187. *Phil.* III. 47, *Ἔστι τοίνυν τις εὐηθὴς λόγος*. — **τοὺς βοηθήσαντας ἂν, κτλ.** = *οἱ βοηθήσαιεν ἂν νῦν* (i.e. before we offend them by helping the Megalopolitans). — **τὸ μὲν... δεῖν**, object of **φημί**: **τὸ δ'... ἔσθαι, κτλ.**, object of **εἰπεῖν**. The article reproduces the statements of the *ἀντιλέγοντες* with point. The infinitives **δεῖν** and **ἔσθαι** are fairly in the construction of Indirect Discourse, the connexion with them of the article, which belongs to the whole clause, being loose. Cf. *F. L.* 54, *τούτους μαλακοὺς ἐποίησε... τὸ* (the assertion of Æschines that), *ταῦτ' εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσιν, ὑμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤξειν*. — For Oropus, see Curtius IV, 490.

b. **Μόνοις**, of all men. *Cor. Trier.* 7, *οὐ μέτεστι μόνοις τούτοις περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου λόγος*. — **οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ἐξείναι... τοῖς π., κτλ.**, *they who persuaded you, &c., have the least right even to say* (still less to defend any such course). [The interpretation of **οὐδέ**, which had seemed doubtful, I find confirmed by Weil.] — **Λακεδαιμόνιοι**, stands opposed to the emphatically

- 11 **κομίσασθαι τὸν Ὀρωπὸν πειρᾶσθαι**, (WEIL, after BENSELER) st. *κομίσασθαι Ὀρωπὸν πειρᾶσθαι* (h.).

placed **Ἀρκάδων**. The significance of **νῦν** (after **ἔσθαι**) will be seen in the connexion.

**a. Οὐ..ταῦτα λέγοντες**: another effective Litotes, for **τάναντία τούτων** 12 λέγ. The participial phrase contains the leading idea: 'This is not what they said when, &c.'—**ἔπεισαν**: viz. they whom Dem. is combating now, Philo-laconian advisers (Weil).—**πάντων Πελοποννησίων**: strongly put, apparently. But Dem. is thinking of all the Peloponnesians and the Lacedæmonians (by contrast), much as he says All the Greeks and Athenians, *Sym.* 38. Diodorus relates (XV. 62) that the *Arcadians*, who had just defeated a Spartan force, in the year after the battle of Leuctra, παραλαβόντες Ἀργείους τε καὶ Ἡλείους, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀξιοῦντες συμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι κατὰ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν· ὡς δ' οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς προσεῖχε, διαπρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἔπεισαν αὐτοὺς συμμαχίαν συνθέσθαι κατὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

**b. Οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς**, nor would you, for your part (you the πεισθέντες).—**ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων σωτηρίας**. This second measure was not taken until 369, after the first invasion of the Peloponnese by Epaminondas. Weil.—**ποιεῖν δ' τι β...καὶ ἀδικεῖν** (Couplet).—**δ' τι βούλονται**. There is a distinct preference of the Indicative (over the regular Subjunctive—or Optative) in these clauses with **βούλομαι**: as indeed the short form might be expected to prevail in so trite a phrase. *Cor. Trier.* 16, ἡγοῦνται τινες ἐξουσίαν εἶναί σφισι ποιεῖν δ' τι βούλονται. *Chers.* 52, ἡσυχίαν ποιοῦσιν ἐκείνῳ πράττειν δ' τι βούλεται. *Lys.* VII. 40, παρέσχον ἔμαντὸν δ' τι βούλεσθε χρῆσθαι. *Hyperid. Euxen.* xxxiii, χρησάσθωσαν αὐτῷ οἱ δικάσταὶ δ' τι βούλονται. And so continually. Compare GMT. § 63, 5, p. 135.—**τῆς σωτηρίας**: note the Article (*for that deliverance*).

**a. Πλείω χάριν..ἔχειν ὧν ἐσώθησαν...ἢ ὧν ἀδικεῖν κωλύονται..ὀργίζεσθαι.** 13 Resolve **ὧν** into **τούτων** *ā*, where the genitive is causal, limiting in the one case **χάριν**, in the other, **ὀργίζεσθαι** (= **ὀργὴν ἔχειν**); while *ā* would in each case be accusative in apposition with the sentence following it,—a cognate accusative, we should say, were the verbs in the active voice. Cf. the common expression **ἀνθ' ὧν**. The use of the Plural to express a single fact, with adjectives and pronouns standing as cognate accusatives, &c., is an idiom of the widest application. It "contributes to the enrichment of the style...representing the fact as a complex phenomenon, an aggregate of many parts, the sum of many constituents, the meeting-point of many relations." Riddell. With the present passage,

generally, compare *Aristocr.* 184, Οὐ γὰρ ὦν...φησὶ φευακίζων ὑμᾶς χάριν ἐστὶ δίκαιον ὀφείλειν,...ἀλλ' ὦν...κακῶς ἐπιχειρῶν ὑμᾶς ποιεῖν φαίνεται, τούτων πολὺ μᾶλλον ὀργίζεσθαι προσήκει. *Lys.* XXVII. 11, οὐκέτι ὦν οὔτοι κλέπτουσιν (at their stealings) ὀργίζεσθε, ἀλλ' ὦν λαμβάνετε χάριν ἵστε. Passive *Thuc.* II. 63, (κίνδυνος) ὦν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀπήχθεσθε.

**b.** *Εἰς...κινδύνους* and *νῦν*: parallel expressions placed correspondingly after the verbs which they limit, thus bringing *νῦν* into the emphatic position it so often takes. — "*Ὡστε πῶς οὐ, κτλ.*"; Removing the interrogative and the negative particle, we should have "*Ὡστε (ἡ) βοηθήσουσιν ἡ κάκιστοι δόξουσιν εἶναι*. Dem. asks how such a conclusion is logically to be avoided. 'How, then, are they to refuse their aid without gaining the name of ingrates?' The special meaning of *κακός* will be noted.

Gratitude, as an element of diplomacy, though of course not peculiar to Hellenic politics, is often to be seen working with singular vividness in the naive public deliberations of Grecian history. The debate at Athens referred to above (12) is a characteristic one from first to last in this regard, as reported by Xenophon (*Hell.* VI. v. 33–49). In the speech of Procles the Phliasian, addressed to the Athenians on that occasion, occur the following expressions: — *Ὑμῖν δὲ νῦν ἐκ θεῶν τινὸς καιρὸς παραγεγένηται, ἐὰν δεομένοις βοηθήσητε Λακεδαιμονίοις, κτήσασθαι τούτους εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον φίλους ἀπροφασίστους*: and, *Εἰ κακοὶ φανείησαν περὶ ὑμᾶς, τίς ἂν ποτε ἐτι πρόθυμος εἰς αὐτοὺς γένοιτο*;

*An Alliance with Megalopolis will not evince an Inconstant Policy on the part of Athens* (14, 15).

- 14 *Συμμάχους ποιήσομεθ' Ἀρκάδας καὶ ταῦτα πράξομεν*: only a Couplet, of the sort noted on *Sym.* 36, b (p. 53). — *ἔχειν πιστόν*, keep good faith. — *καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους*: their case is cited first because it has just been discussed (12). — *καὶ πρότερον Θηβαίους*. Pelopidas and the Theban exiles were harbored in Attica, and had the support of Athens in expelling the Spartan garrison from Thebes in 379: "even as the Thebans themselves," says Diodorus, "helped restore the Demos of the Athenians, what time they were enslaved by the Thirty Tyrants." Cf. on *Rhod.* 22, a. — And in 378 the hoplites of Athens had come to the protection of Thebes, and had forced Agesilaus to retreat. Weil. — *Εὐβοίας*: from the Thebans, in 357. — *ἐν τι ταῦτό, κτλ.*: *τι* is thrown in to prepare the way for the rhetorical question which follows. 'Intent on a policy, one and the same from first to last.'

- 15 *Τοὺς ἀδικουμένους σώζειν*. Cf. *Rhod.* 22, and the note, b. — *οὐκέτ' ἂν*

**ἡμεῖς εἴημεν**: see GMT. Rem. on p. 113; *Sym.* 30; *Rhod.* 23. 'No one, after admitting this, could longer urge, &c.' The idiomatic use of **οὐκέτι** is common from Homer down: e.g. B. 141, *Οὐ γὰρ ἐτι Τροίην αἰρήσομεν εὐρύαγυιαν*. — For **μή**, with **θέλοντες**, see on *μηδετέροις*, *Rhod.* 14. — **πράγματα | διά**. The Pause, required by the antithesis, is seen to be called for by the rhythm also.

*In the Seductive Offers which they make, the Lacedæmonians are prompted by an Ambition dangerous to the Greeks (16–18).*

**a. Δοκοῦσι...ποιεῖν**: putting it subjectively, i.e. gently — not *Laconically*, μάλα δεινοὶ Λ.! See on *Sym.* 9, b, end (p. 41). — The arrangement **δεινῶν ἔργον ἀνθρώπων** is an elegant one. Cf. *Aristocr.* 123, *μισθοφόρων ἔργον ἀνθρώπων*. The merely supplementary word is employed to force apart, and throw into relief, those rhetorically more significant; for *ἀνθρώπων* has color though not emphasis. Cf. on *εἰπεῖν*, *Sym.* 25, a (p. 46). — For the sentiment, compare Eur. *Andr.* 446, *Σπάρτης ἐνοικοι, δόλια βουλευτήρια*, &c. — **Νῦν**: just now they have good reasons for interesting themselves in the welfare of others. — **ἐκεῖνοι**, the Tricksters. On *Sym.* 1, b (p. 38).

**b. Τινά, parts. — ἄλλους...τῶν Ἀρκ.** The common illogical idiom, — others, viz. Arcadians. — Observe the Chiasmus in the clause ending with **ἡμᾶς**. — Triphylia and Tricaranum, the former a bone of contention between Eleans and Arcadians, the latter between Phliasians and Argives, were, like Oropus, used by the Lacedæmonians as baits. — For **ἐκάστους**, on *Sym.* 1, c (p. 38). — In **ἡμῶν** the speaker identifies the cause of all the dupes of Sparta with that of Athens.

**c. Ὅψι γὰρ ἂν φιλάνθρωποι γένοιτο.** The *φιλάνθρωπία* meant is *τὸ τοὺς ἀδικουμένους σώζειν*. In this matter the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians are none the less antipodes because the fact is a standing boast in the Orators. To the former *πάτριον καὶ σύμφυτον τὸ φιλάνθρωπον*, says Plutarch (*Pelopidas*, VI). The quality is exhibited by Demosthenes himself as an individual in a high degree, tempered by good sense and statesmanlike prudence.

**Αὐτοί**, because Messene is to Sparta what Oropus is to Athens, &c. — **17**  
**ἵνα...βοηθῶσιν...ἢ δοκῶσιν ἀδικεῖν.** Cf. *βοηθήσουσιν ἢ κάκιστοι δόξουσιν εἶναι* (13). — **περὶ ὧν, κτλ.** Somewhat Thucydidean. *ἵνα δοκῶσιν ἀδικεῖν, ἂν μὴ ἕκαστοι, ὥσπερ περὶ ὧν ἔφασαν σφῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι συμψήφους ἔλαβον ἐκείνους (τοὺς Λ.), οὕτως αὐτοὶ τὴν ὁμοίαν χάριν ἀποδιδῶσιν αὐτοῖς (τοῖς Λ.).* In the text, **λαβόντες**, though logically subordinate to **ἀποδιδόντες**, is well placed first, referring as it does to prior time: note the tenses. **τὴν ὁμοίαν** gains

emphasis by the placing of **αὐτοῖς**, which is itself merely supplementary: see above, on (16) a. **ἐκείνους**, from the speaker's point of view: on *Sym.* 30, a, end (p. 48).

- 18 a. **Ἐγὼ δέ**: Dem. would stand quite alone in the boldness of the thing he is about to propose (**ὦρωπὸν εἶναι**), even though proposing it only conditionally. — **πρῶτον μὲν...Εἰ δ' ἄρα**. — **καθυφείναι**, 'to connive at sacrificing,' a common word in Demosthenes (Heslop on *καθυφῇ καὶ προδῶ*, *F. L.* 6). — **μετ' ἐκείνων, ἃν τὰ δίκαια, κτλ.**: looking back to (11–13). — **αἰρετώτερον, εἰ οἷόν τ' εἶπείν, κτλ.** The sensitive spot is touched with extreme caution, and not until the hearer has been carefully prepared to bear it. Similar tact, *Sym.* 33, 34; and, notably, *Rhod.* 15, 16.

b. **Περὶ τούτου μόνον**: i.e. *περὶ τοῦ Μεσσήνην προέσθαι καὶ Π.* Thus Weil, after H. Wolf. — **ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων** (*Rhod.* 13), or *περὶ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων* (*Pac.* 25). — **ἑάσω, κτλ.** The Orator will avoid just (**γέ**) what had come into his head to say, and give his thought in general terms (**περὶ πολλῶν**), employing, however, **κίνδυνον** instead of **λόγον** as before, to render his meaning unmistakable. The Aposiopesis, as if to avoid ill omen. — **ἐπελθόν**: *ἐπέρχεται* (*Sym.* 29), *ἐπίη* (*Ib.* 39). — Note **εἶναι** and **γενέσθαι**.

*Rejection of the Megalopolitans now will lead ultimately to Acceptance of the Thebans themselves as Allies (19–22).*

- 19 a. **Ἄ γέ φασι, κτλ.** Placed at the head as common theme of the whole period, though grammatically connected only with the clause immediately following. Cf. on *Sym.* 25, b (p. 46). Observe that the usual *ταῦτα* is suppressed. — **διὰ Θηβαίους**: interpreted by **σπουδαιοτέρους** ..**περὶ Θ.** below. Note the arrangement. The allusion, observes Weil, is to the times of Epaminondas, when Megalopolis was ally of Thebes, while Athens supported Sparta. — The significance of **νῦν**, which might have been anticipated by a *πρότερον* in the previous clause, is brought out by what follows, especially **ἵνα τούναντίον** (*ἢ τότε*), **κτλ.**

b. **Ἐν..μέρει**: thus often; sometimes *ἐν..τάξει*. The regular use of the middle voice in such phrases should be observed: *περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν τίθεσθαι*, &c. Cf. *ποιοῦ φρενί*, Eur. *Hec.* 300. Quite different the literal *ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει τοῦτο ποιεῖν*, *Cor.* 13. — For **ἐξ ὅτου τρόπου μὴ γενήσονται**, see GMT. p. 75, Rem., and foot-note. — **τούτους** (*τοὺς Μ.*): emphatic (i.e. not simply *αὐτούς*) as opposed to **αὐτοί** (*οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες*). —

18 **ἐκείνους, ἀλλ'** — **ἑάσω**, the punctuation from *Att. Bereds.* III, 254, n.

19 **νῦν**, WEIL st. *νῦν μὲν*.

**τοιούτων** (i.e. *οὕτω σπουδαίων*) supports the weight of the sentence. 'If Athens has to thank the Laconian party for the loss of *such* coadjutors (as these Arcadians are by that party's own showing).' — **ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πρότερος ἦλθον** (12).

**Ἄλλ', οἶμαι, κτλ.** This looks like the same thing over again, the 20 speaker mildly suggests. For both tone and language here, compare (16) and the notes, a. — The peculiar arrangement, throwing **δεύτερον** and **έτέρων** into relief (with Pause before the latter), produces no ambiguity (*Ἔστι ταῦτ' ἀνθρώπων δεύτερον τούτους έτέρων συμμάχους ποιῆσαι βουλομένων*). — The parenthetic clauses, **δο' ἄν...είκασαι**, and **καί...φήσειν**, apparently excusing **οἶδα**, which without them might seem offensively abrupt, really serve to enforce what follows by postponing it. What first follows is a repetition of the powerful argument of **Messene** (10); finally, in **φήμ' ἡμᾶς, κτλ.**, comes a sudden enlargement of that argument, meeting the Anti-thebans on their own ground. The manœuvre is Demosthenic. — **οἶμαι ἡμῶν**: unobjectionable hiatus. So *Aristocr.* 122, *οὐχ ὑγιαίνοντων οἶμαι ἀνθρώπων*. Cf. on *Rhod.* 1, b, at end.

**Αὐτούς** (before **παραλαβεῖν**), opposed to **Θηβαίων** (Weil). — **τὴν..Θηβαίων** 21 **συμμαχίαν**: said for *τοὺς Θηβαίων συμμάχους* (*τοὺς M.*), to point the satirical antithesis with **τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων..πλεονεξία**, as well as to avoid confusion with **αὐτούς**. — **μὴ ἐπιτρέψαι**: note the tense, comparing *μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν* (9). — **τούτους**: see on this word above (19) b (p. 66). — **καθεστάναι**. The skilful use of strong equivalents for *εἶναι*, either as copula or verb substantive, though not strictly peculiar to Dem., is an element of massiveness in his language. So *ὑπάρχειν* very often, *πεφυκέναι*, &c.

**Ἀδείς**: Litotes again. — **τοῦτο**: anticipating, and explained by, **τὸ** 22 **λαβεῖν, κτλ.** This is very common in the oratorical style. Three times in (24) below. It is similar in effect to the converse arrangement, **ἄν... ταῦτα** (p. 19), which has been already remarked on (*Sym.* 36, a, p. 53). — **πολεμεῖν αἰρουμένους**: cf. *πόλεμον..αἰρεῖσθαι*, *Sym.* 3, and see the critical notes here and there (p. 39). The expression is appropriately used each time of *voluntary* procedure. — **μᾶλλον ἴσως εἰδότες ἢ ἐγώ**. Dem. knows only by tradition what the older among his hearers had seen and experienced. The ancients always make the most of a distinction between hear-say and eye-witness. It often serves them for a point where the thought would not occur to us.

**τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ πλεονεξία**, st. *τῇ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων πλεονεξία* (rh.). 20

**πολεμεῖν αἰρουμένους**, Σ. *πόλεμον ἀραμένους*, vulg. (υ υ υ). 21

**πρότερόν ποτε**, Cod. A, γρ. Υ. *πρότερον*, vulg. (υ υ υ). *προτέραν*, Σ.



*A Middle Course, of Justice toward the Bæotian Towns against the Hostility of Thebes, and toward Megalopolis against that of Sparta, is the Wisest Policy for Athens (23–26).*

- 23 **Τῶν λεγόντων καὶ...φασκόντων.** But **λεγόντων** is still technical; see on *Sym.* 25, b (p. 46). The second **καὶ**, where we should say *or*; cf. *Αἰγυπτίον καὶ Ὀρόνταν*, *Sym.* 31. [My choice of the interpretation given above is confirmed by Weil, who says that if **καὶ** and **καὶ** were correlative, **τῶν** would be repeated with the second participle. That correlation, however, might be shown as the text stands by a Pause after **λεγόντων**: but to make one participle subordinate to another, when it is possible to assume a Couplet, were to ignore the manner of Demosthenes.]—**δή** (twice), with similar ironical force to *ἄρα*. — **Εἰ μὲν** (sc. *μισοῦσιν*)...**εἰ δέ**.. **φήσουσι** (sc. *μισεῖν*). For **μὲν γε**, see on *Sym.* 29, a (p. 47). — **πέρα τοῦ καιροῦ**: explained by (5).
- 24 **a.** **Ἔστι γάρ, ἔστι**: “a repetition of which Dem. is very fond” (Heslop, on *Ol.* I. 19). The excited style, in harmony with the rhetorical question preceding. — **ταπείνους ποιεῖν**: the exact opposite of **ἐπαίρουσιν** above. The figure is deserted with **ισχυροῦς**. Cf. *Ol.* II. 7, 8, *οὕτως ἠὺξήθη*. *Ὡςπερ οὖν διὰ τούτων ἦρθη μέγας, ...οὕτως ὀφείλει διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ καθαιρεθῆναι πάλιν*. Dem. is reasonably strict with his figurative expressions. See on *ἀξίως ἐφικέσθαι*, *Sym.* 1, b (p. 38), and *Ib.* 5, end (p. 40). — **πολύ γε ῥᾶον**: easier, for reasons given above (20–22). That reasoning the Orator proceeds to repeat and enlarge: **ὥς δέ, ἥω, κτλ.**
- b.** **Τὰ μὲν δίκαια** and **τοῖς δ' ἀδίκοις** (neut.) contrast the positive and negative sides of the same general proposition: first (**μὲν**), what men feel bound to do themselves; again (**δέ**), what, from similar feelings, they will prevent being done. **μέχρι τού γε** (*up to a certain point*), and **ἄλλως τε καὶ τινες βλάπτωνται** (= *ἄλλως τε καὶ οἵτινες ἂν βλ.* Weil), are corresponding limitations of the two sides of the statement. — **ταύτην ἀρχὴν οὔσαν** = *τοῦτο ἀρχόμενον*. For **ταύτην**, see on *Sym.* 29, c, end (p. 48). Emphasis is laid on the subjects **τοῦτο** and **ταύτην** both by the repetition (Anaphora) and the anticipation (see on **τοῦτο** above, 22). — **ἀπλῶς**, here virtually = *κοινῶς*: dealing with all parties alike according to justice pure and simple.
- 25 **a.** **Τοῦτο**: *τὸ μὴ θέλειν τὰ δίκαια πράττειν ἀπλῶς*. ‘That we may not, by a one-sided dispensation of justice, destroy that equilibrium which our own security requires, let us *to be sure* (**μὲν**) coöperate in the reestablish-

23 **πότερα δὴ ἐκάτεροι**, *vulg.* **πότερ' ἐκάτεροι**, Σ (∘∘∘∘∘).

**Εἰ μὲν γ' ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων**, *st.* **Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων** (∘∘∘∘).

ment of the Bæotian towns against Thebes, *but* (δέ) *at the same time*, not, &c.' The passage begins with an apparent broad concession to the Laconian faction, then takes the form of direct opposition to the point mainly urged by them in the present debate. — There is a complete and happy combination of expediency and intrinsic right in Demosthenes' Middle Course as here applied.

**b. Αὐτοῖς**: i.e. τοῖς Θεσπιεῦσι, &c. — **τοὺς ἄλλους ἀξιώμεν**: sc. συμπράττειν ὅπως αἱ πόλεις κατοικισθήσονται. **τοὺς ἄλλους**, as if αὐτοί had been expressed with συμπράττωμεν. — **μηδέ** (*and thus*) introduces a repetition of **μὴ προώμεθα, κτλ.**, in general terms (Couplet). — **ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει τῇ Πλαταιῶν καὶ Θ.** The desire to rebuild and fortify these towns appears to have furnished the Anti-thebans with an excuse for urging that the coöperation of Sparta to that end might be forfeited by Athens, should she take up with the Megalopolitans. For the loose connexion of the limiting genitives with their noun, cf. *Lept.* 149, ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ δήμου προφάσει (*on the pretext of benefit to the people*). As to the assumption that the help of Sparta will not be needed in Bæotia, based on the present probabilities of the Phocian War, compare what was said about Oropus at the beginning of (18).

**c. Οὔσας καὶ κατοικουμένας**: the strong expression, to give the argument of justice its full effect by contrast. 'The building of cities destroyed must not be purchased by the destruction of cities built.' — Compare **ἀναιρεθείσας περιδόμεν** with **περιορᾶν..ἐξανεστώσας** above, with regard to the *tenses*; and see GMT. § 24, N. 2, with the Rem., p. 35. — **ἐξανεστώσας** = ἀναστάτους οὔσας. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 494, πόλις ἀνέστηκεν δορί. See on συντετάχθαι, *Sym.* 17 (p. 44). — **περιδόμεν**, pronounced περιίδωμεν, probably.

**Ταῦτα**, this policy of justice to both sides. The second part, however, the defence of M., being the point at issue, is uppermost here and in εἰ δὲ μή. — In what follows, the perspicuity is saved by the pronouns. — **ἐκεῖνα** (*all that*) is explained by **τὴν ἐκείνων** (masc. τῶν Βοιωτῶν, as opposed to **τούτους**, the Meg.) **κατοίκισιν**. — **ὅταν ἡγῶνται** (οἱ τοῖ). **αὐτοῖς ὄλεθρον**: the M., if rejected by Athens, would find their only safety in the strength of Thebes. — **ἀνήντα πράγμαθ' ἔχομεν αὐτοί**: see (18) at end, and (22). — **τί γάρ, κτλ.** Epigrammatic statement of the Laconian policy and its consequences.

It will have been seen by this time, that while the Oration is truly non-partisan, its centre of gravity, from the very circumstances of the case, falls on the Anti-laconian side.

*As an Alliance with the Megalopolitans will enable Athens to hold the Lacedæmonians to the Peace, so she must have a Guaranty of Good Faith from the Megalopolitans themselves (27-29).*

- 27 a. Τὰς στήλας...τὰς πρὸς Θ. Note the loose connexion of πρὸς, as if στήλας were wholly equivalent to συνθήκας. — καθελεῖν, naturally in its literal sense. — For ἔσονται, see GMT. p. 37, N. 6; p. 93, N. 3. — Οὐδέ, without correlative: G. p. 205, N. 2. — μέν, after φασί, prepares for Ἐγὼ δέ. — The Article is required with ποιῶν, although in the predicate, to convert the participle into a noun. Cf. οἱ μεταβαλλόμενοι (15), and G. p. 201, N. 8. — τούτους: resumptive of τοὺς βοηθοῦντας, with emphasis. Another common rhetorical expedient.

b. Τοιοῦτοι, i.e. οἷόςπερ φασίν. — τὰ μάλιστα, never so truly; often in Dem. for the usual ὡς μάλιστα: probably to avoid hiatus. But Antiph. Herod. 27, εἰ δὲ καὶ ὡς μάλιστ' ἐξέβην: Andoc. Myst. 113, εἰ ὡς μάλιστ' ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν: &c. — ὡδὲ πως ἔχω, sc. γνώμης. Weil. Cf. ὡς ἔχω γνώμης, Sym. 2. — ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλωσι...ὁπότεροι,...μετὰ τῶν ἐθελόντων: more pointed than ὁπότεροι δ' ἂν θέλωσι, μετὰ τούτων would have been. Brachylogy of the sort seen in ὁπότεροι (for οἱ ἕτεροι, ὁπότεροι ἂν ὦσιν) is confined, as a rule, to relative words modified by -οῦν, -δῆ, -ποτε, &c. But as here, Andoc. Pac. Lac. 26, ἀνάγκη ὁπότερον τούτων ἐλέσθαι: Xen. Cyr. III. ii. 22, κὰν ἀδικῶσιν ὑμῶν ὁπότεροι, σὺν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἡμεῖς ἐσόμεθα: &c. — τότε ἤδη, then and thereafter. — γίνεσθαι, go.

- 28 a. Εἴτε γάρ....εἴτε: for as the M., in case they shall, &c....so the L., in case they shall, &c. The second member, concerning the Spartans, is dwelt on. Observe also the Chiasmus, bringing the event of misbehavior into the prominent place (outside); οὐ τὸ δίκαιον, κτλ. and οὐχ ἵνα Θ., κτλ., inside. — Μεγαλοπολίται | ἔτι. The Pause is indicated by the hiatus, and is seen moreover to be called for by the antithesis. Bense-ler was accordingly wrong in proposing to throw ἔτι out (*De Hiatu*, p. 87); so in regard to ἤδη below (30) b. Blass gives the division (*Att. Ber.* III, 120, n.) in illustration of accumulated short syllables allowed more especially at the End of a Colon (often ∪∪∪—, and ∪∪∪—∪). Cf. τινὰ κομίσασθαι | (16): χάριν ἀποδιδόντες | (17): and “Μεγαλοπολίται five times at end (7, 8, 28, 30, 32), twice not at end (19, 28).”

- 27 οὐ στήλας, DOBREE st. οὐκ εἶναι στήλας. It is in vain to attempt to defend this εἶναι for the meaning required by the passage.

**b. Ἀδύλως**: formulaic in treaties (Hdt., Xen., &c.). Thuc. I. 23, *δικαίως καὶ προθύμως καὶ ἀδύλως*. Ar. Av. 632 (parody) *ὁμόφρονας λόγους, δικαίους, ἀδύλους, ὁσίους*. Here with reference to *τὰς στήλας καθελεῖν*. — *δῆλοι δῆπου πᾶσιν ἔσονται* | Note the Movement and the Euphony. — *ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ποιήσονται*: cf. (4) and *Sym.* 6, *ὑπὸ τῷ βαρβάρῳ γενέσθαι*, the latter being the *passive* of this.

The first *εἰ* belongs to the whole Enthymeme (on *Rhod.* 23, a), covering the second *εἰ* clause, which bears the same relation to *φοβερόν*, as the whole does to *θαυμάζω*. GMT. § 56, p. 120, with p. 93, N. 3. *τὸ... εἶναι*, for which still another conditional clause might have stood, varies the construction. — *τοῦ χρόνου*, the *Past*; *History*. Weil. — *χρῶνται... ἐχρῶντο*. The repetition of the same word at the ends of Cola is not without effect. Technically called *Antistrophe*, the reverse of *Anaphora*. Both figures together *Rhod.* 18. — *ἐφ' ἡμᾶς*. For the fourth time the Orator winds up with this thought: (18), (22), (26, *ἀνήνυστα πράγματα, κτλ.*).

*To Reject the Megalopolitans will be, in any event, the Worse Course for Athens; to Accept them, in any event, the Better Course* (30, 31).

**a. Καὶ ἐκεῖνο**: as if what follows constituted a new head, though in fact recapitulatory. — The main alternatives are *μὴ προσδεξαμένων μὲν* (note the participial construction in stating the course deprecated by the speaker), and *ἐὰν δὲ προσδέξησθε*. — *ἀναιρεθῶσι καὶ διοικισθῶσιν*. The special word follows the general in this couplet, *διοικισμός* being the particular kind of *ἀναίρεσις* to which the Megalopolitans would be treated. — Observe *ἄρα* here, and twice below (31). On *Sym.* 5 (p. 39). — *ὥς ἤδη τι καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐξέβη*. GMT. p. 46, N. 1. *τι* is subject: *in many an instance, we should say*. *καὶ παρ' ἐλπ.*, *however unexpectedly*.

**b. Τούτοις μὲν...τὸ δὲ συμβησόμενον**. In subdividing the second main alternative, since in this event the result to the M. is certain (*ἤδη σωθῆναι*), their case is disposed of in one member, and the calculation of consequences is transferred (*μετενεγκόντες*) from them to the other parties. Hence the secondary sub-alternatives which follow in a new Period: (31) *Ἄν μὲν...ἂν δέ*. — *ὑπάρξει* | *ἤδη*. Hiatus and Sense.

**a. Τοῖνυν** (cf. on 7, p. 60) attaches the subordinate period as just explained. — *δεῖ* = *προσέκει* (not *ἀνάγκη*). — *ἀλλ' οὖν..γε*, *yet at any rate*: restrictive in apodosis. — *τῶνδε*: heretofore always *τούτων*.



## ON ORATION XV.

As Introduction to the Oration for the Liberty of the Rhodians, see Curtius' History of Greece, Vol. V, pp. 268–271.

### Προοίμιον (1–4).

**a. Ἐγὼ δέ,** *And I* (will say); as one of the *συμβουλευόντες*: see on 1 *Sym.* 9, a (p. 40). The Orator proceeds to avail himself of that freedom of speech for which he has just craved indulgence, and to reproach his hearers for their inactivity, while complimenting their intelligence. In fact (to Athenians) a *captatio benevolentiae*, and a characteristic one. Compare, for example, *Aristocr.* 145, *πολλὰ γινώσκοντες ὀρθῶς ὑμεῖς οὐ διὰ τέλους αὐτοῖς χρήσθε*. The thought recurs in the Peroration (34, 35).

**b. Διδάξαι,** *to make you see*: **ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωκότες,** *to have that insight to begin with*. For the latter expression, inferior forms, as regards strength, would be *ἐγνωκότες εἶναι* and *ἐγνωκέναι*, in this order: see on *καθεστάναι*, *Meg.* 21, end (p. 67). Note the fulness of the parenthetical sentence as a whole. — **ταῦτα**: a little stronger than *αὐτά* (see the quotation above, a) would have been. So often; cf (8) at end, (30). — **πραχθῆναι**.

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### ΛΙΒΑΝΙΟΥ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Τὸν συμμαχικὸν κληθέντα πόλεμον ἤραντο πρὸς Ἀθηναίους Χῖοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι, πρότερον μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπήκοοι γεγονότες, τότε δὲ ἀλλήλοις συμμαχίαν πεποιημένοι κατὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. γείτονες δὲ ὄντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι τῇ Καρίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ταύτης ὑπαρχόν Μαύσωλλον οἰκείως ἔχειν ἐδόκουν. ὁ δὲ κατ' ὀλίγον πιστευόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλὴν κατὰ τοῦ δήμου συνεστήσατο, καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τῶν Ῥοδίων ἀφελόμενος ὀλίγοις τοῖς δυνατωτέροις τὴν πόλιν κατεδούλωσε. συμβουλεύει τοίνυν ὁ Δημοσθένης μὴ περιορᾶν ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ βοηθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥοδίων, συμφέρειν λέγων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις. εἰ δὲ ἡδικήκασιν ἡμᾶς, φησὶν, Ῥόδιοι, ἀλλὰ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν καὶ σύννηθες τὸ καὶ τοὺς λυπήσαντάς τι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθεροῦν καὶ μὴ μνησικακεῖν ἀμαρτάνουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

**ἀπέχει**: unobjectionable hiatus, with verbal ending; cf. *φρονῆσαι ἠθέλησαν* (16). Also *ὅσω ἂν* (8). Blass. Cf. *Meg.* 20.

- 2 **a.** **Ἔστι μὲν οὖν, κτλ.** The second (special) part of the Proem states the opportunity that has presented itself of doing away with the reproach made in the first (general) part. **Ἔστι** (*ἦν, ἦσαν, &c.*) beginning a sentence or clause, is idiomatic in descriptive, narrative, explanatory, and transitional passages. The same principles account, of course, for other verbs initial, and sometimes also for a periphrastic form with the copula: e.g. Eur. *Hec.* 122 (narrative and descriptive), *Ἦν δὲ* (*There was*) *τὸ μὲν σὸν σπεύδων ἀγαθὸν.. Ἀγαμέμνων.*

**b.** The subject of **Ἔστι** is the infinitive clause **τούς..πολεμήσαντας... ἔχειν, κτλ.** With the Pause (before **τούς**), there is no need of any *τό*. — Pause again before **νῦν**, which is brought into juxtaposition with **πάλαι**: cf. *Ἑλλάδα | Ἑλλήνα* (*Sym.* 31); *κεχαρισμένον | οὐ μὴν συμφέροντα* (*Ib.* 1). Observe the further partial Chiastic arrangement in these two Cola; **διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ὕβριν ὑμῖν... | ...ἐν ὑμῖν μόνοις τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας.** The repetition of the reflexive helps toward the effect. — **βλασφημίας | ἔργῳ.** Here again much as *πάλαι | νῦν* above; for the words are directly antithetic, **βλ.** implying *λόγῳ* (see on *Sym.* 1, a, p. 37). So **μετὰ δόξης καλῆς** offsets **παρὰ τῶν διαβαλλόντων.**

The form here, however elaborate, is completely subordinated to the thought, which only gains by the elaboration. This Proem is not epideictic in style like that to the Oration on the Symmories. Intermediate, as regards form, between these two proems is *Meg.* 1–3.

- 3 **a.** **Γάρ** (explanatory) belongs to the whole Period, as far as **αἵτιοι** (4). For its position, see on *Sym.* 29, a (*μὲν γε*) p. 47. — The first member (**μὲν**) interprets **διαβαλλόντων, κτλ.**: the second member (**φανήσεται δέ**) interprets (especially at its close, **ὑμεῖς δέ, κτλ.**) **μετὰ δόξης καλῆς ἀπολύσασθαι**, but serves at the same time to present certain facts of the case in a forcible connexion (**ὁ μὲν..Μ.: οἱ δὲ..Χ. καὶ Β.**). The limitation **ὣν ἂν χρή βουλευέσθε** (2) must not be left out of view in all this.

**b.** **Συνέστησαν**: *συν-* here of collusion. Differently *Sym.* 31, &c. — **τουτονί**: cf. Plat. *Apol.* 21 A, *τὴν φυγὴν ταύτην* (four years previous). The Social War was fresh in the memory of the Athenians, unfortunately for the Rhodian Demus. For the position of the pronoun (**τὸν..τουτονί πόλεμον**), see G. § 142, 4, N. 1, p. 203. — **φανήσεται** does service for a *φανήσονται* and a *φανήσεσθε*, called for by the last two subjects. This is

- 2 **βουλευέσθε ὑπέρ**, *vulg.* *βουλευέσθε περί*, Σ (*rh., h.*). Blass. Cf. (6), where Σ has *ὑπέρ*: *vulg.* *περί*.

usual in Greek: there is a sub-consciousness of the impersonal construction. — Of the participles here, note the attributive position of one set (the Aorists), and the dependence of the Perfects on the verb (GMT. § 113, p. 229, with N. 5, p. 230). **φάσκων** differs from both. The passage is perspicuous and elegant. — **πρυτανεύσας**. Dem. uses the figure elsewhere. Together with a similar one, *Phil.* III. 60, **χορηγὸν ἔχοντες Φίλιππον καὶ πρυτανευόμενοι** (*Boss Philip*).

**Τοὺς πολλούς**: i.e. τὰ πλήθη, τοὺς δήμους. — **πόλεσι | τοῦτο**. For the pronoun, on *Meg.* 22 (p. 67). — **σύμβολον ποιῆσθαι, κτλ.** For the Middle, on *Meg.* 19, b (p. 66). — **ἡ...τυχεῖν** forms a sort of appositive to **οὗ**. Cf. *Plat. Legg.* 738 D, οὐ μείζον οὐδὲν πόλει ἀγαθόν, ἢ γνωρίμους αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς εἶναι. [Here, and in our passage, the Editors—even Weil—strangely omit to punctuate before ἡ.] *Lys.* XXV. 23, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν εἴη αὐτοῖς χαλεπώτερον τούτων, ἢ πυνθάνεσθαι μέν...αἰσθάνεσθαι δέ, κτλ. But examples (with variations) are numerous from Homer down: ζ. 182,

οὐ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ γε κρεῖσσον καὶ ἄρειον,  
Ἦ ὅθ' ὁμοφρονέοντε νοήμασιν οἶκον ἔχητον  
Ἄνῆρ ἡδὲ γυνή.

*To support the Rhodian Demus against the King, were but to uphold the Principle of Defending Hellenic Rights, at all Hazards, against Barbarian Encroachment (5–8).*

**Ὅρῳ | ὑπέρ**. Hiatus and Sense. — **πεῖθοντας**: note the tense (GMT. p. 5, N. 2). — The connexion of **ὑπέρ (δέ)**—repeated for the symmetry (Anaphora)—with **φοβουμένους** is loose. — **τοὺς μέν...τοὺς δέ**: Chiasmus with **ὑπέρ μέν...ὑπέρ δέ, κτλ.** — **μεμερισμένους**. In using this word Dem. was thinking, as Weil intimates, of the *natural* distribution of territory between Greeks and Orientals.

**a. Οἶμαι...οἶμαι δέ, κτλ.** For the tone, see on *Sym.* 9, at end (p. 41); **6** and compare what the Orator says, *Pac.* 4, Ἀκριβῶς δ' εἰδὼς, ὧ ἄ. Ἀ., τὸ λέγειν περὶ ὧν αὐτὸς εἶπέ τις καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀεὶ τῶν πάντων λυσιτελούντων τοῖς τολμῶσιν ὄν, οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι φορτικὸν καὶ ἐπαχθέες, ὥστ' ἀνάγκην οὔσαν ὁρῶν ὁμῶς ἀποκνῶ. — **πρῶτος**, of order; Dem. was the first to give that particular advice on the subject: but **δεύτερος**, idiomatic (= μετ' ἑτέρου) as opposed to **μόνος**, with reference merely to the number of speakers; one other may have followed with the same advice. 'I believe, moreover, that I was the only man, or one of only two men, to say, &c.'

**b. Ὅτι μοι, κτλ.** is adapted to **εἰπεῖν**, not to **παρήνεσα**. The apparently less important clause, **οἶμαι...εἰπεῖν**, is allowed to determine the



structure of what follows, and to excellent purpose. In **δοκεῖτε** the Mood of the direct discourse is retained, not only for clearness as regards **ἄν**, but for the sake of vividness in reproducing the scene of the former speech. Observe the secondary protasis, **ἐὰν...ἐπιχειρῇ**, retained in its original form (*Sym.* 11, 41), and not assimilated (GMT. § 34, 1 (b), p. 51). With this clause standing as it does in the Subjunctive, the indirect and courteous form (Opt.) of recommendation in the others (*σωφρονοῖτ' ἄν, εἰ παρασκευάζοισθε, κτλ.*) is allowed to produce its due effect. The only word affected by the circumstance of this passage being dependent on **εἰπεῖν** (*εἶπον*) **ὅτι** is **μοί** — i.e. its position.

**c. Τὴν πρόφασιν**: the Article, although the noun is predicative, because there must be some *πρόφασις* or other at all events. See G. p. 201, N. 8. — **ποιοῖσθε**: the force of the Middle here may be preserved by rendering **τῆς** as a possessive. — **μὴ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνον ἔχθραν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἐχθροὺς**, would have been the regular sequence; but a new and fuller form of expression sets in with **ἀλλὰ**. The enlargement of the thought at the expense of exact formal symmetry, is characteristic. Cf. on *Sym.* 11, b, at end (p. 42); and on *Meg.* 32 (p. 72).

**d. Καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν εἶπον, κτλ.** The stock example of the Climax (*Cor.* 179) will bear transcribing: *οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους, ἀλλὰ, κτλ.* Here, in general, the regular covering of the negative in each **δέ** clause by the negative which belongs to the pair, should be observed. In our passage, note the subject grammatically identical in the first two clauses notwithstanding the sharp antithesis, **ἐγὼ μὲν...ὑμῖν δέ** (this leaves room for the secondary antithesis **εἶπον** — i.e. *εἰπεῖν* merely — and **ὀρθῶς λέγειν**): further, the change of Tense, including **εἰδόκουν**.

- 7 **2.** Ethical dative, **μοί**. — **παρ' αὐτὸν ὄντα**: common idiom. Weil remarks on its occurrence with *κεῖσθαι* as well as *εἶναι*, quoting Eur. *I. T.* 620, *εἰς ἀνάγκην κείμεθα*. *Παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ* = at the Court of the King. — In the Tense of **ποιοῖτο** (*should be for making*, not *ποιήσαιτο*), as well as in the Mood, there is studied indirectness; a refinement not wasted on those whom Demosthenes addressed. This case is supposed (**εἰ βασιλεύς, κτλ.**), to exhibit in a striking way the intrinsic right and universal expediency of a strong defensive policy in all junctures like the one under consideration. The Orator is heading off the suspicion of being a partisan of the Rhodians, — a suspicion sure to arise, with the prevailing sentiment toward Rhodes, and earnestly deprecated below (15, 16).

**b.** Ἐάν τις ἐναντιώται might have been assimilated in mood; cf. on ἐάν...ἐπιχειρῇ, above (6) b (p. 76). As it stands, we have an independent and a livelier style—nearer the dramatic πολέμει σὺ, ἐάν, κτλ. For προσήκει, see GMT. p. 52, N. at top. — For ὧν...τούτων, on *Sym.* 36, a (p. 53), ὅσα. — μηδὲ...τὴν ἀρχήν. Phrase: *not at all*.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν...εἰ δέ. — ὅλως, *generally*; as a rule of action. — ὅσων: for 8 τοσούτων ὅσων. — παραχωρεῖν, *relinquish*; cf. ὧν..ἀπέστη (27). — οὐ καλῶς ἐγνώκατε: note the repetition of the verb. — τῶν δικαίων, i.e. your rights as infringed upon by Barbarian encroachment on Hellenic territory and institutions; τῶν ὑμετέρων would have been too narrow. — τούτων (and ταῦτα): τοῦ πολεμεῖν καὶ πάσχειν. — With ἔπατα...δόξετε compare μετὰ δόξης καλῆς (2). See on *Meg.* 10 (p. 62).

*There are Precedents for the Course recommended Now, which in fact is Adapted to Human Nature itself* (9, 10).

**a.** The connexion of **ὅτι** with the leading verb is loose. The same 9 below, at the beginning of (11). This occurs oftenest in calling for witnesses, depositions, &c.: e.g. *Aristocr.* 183, ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λαβὲ τὴν Χάρητος ἐπιστολήν. The full form, *Ib.* 174, ἵνα εἰδῇτε ὅτι τὰληθῆ λέγω, λαβέ μοι τὴν ἐπιστολήν. Weil compares the Latin *quod autem*. — οὐδὲν καινόν: placed as common object of λέγω and ποιήσετε. Cf. on *Sym.* 25, b (p. 46). Observe the emphatic separation of these verbs from each other, the order being Chiastic, except as regards the parallel subjects. Similarly in the main clause, ὑμῶς τι is rhetorically made useful, to separate and enforce a pair of more significant words, being itself merely supplementary. See on *Meg.* 16, a (p. 65) and 17 at end. The chief prominence here is gained by the second of the two expressions, **συνενηνοχότων**: γεγενημένων καὶ συμφερόντως γεγενημένων.

**b.** Νῦν (beginning a Colon); as compared with events of the past. — Note the Asyndeton in introducing the Example (παράδειγμα), Ὑμεῖς, κτλ. — Τιμόθεον: ἱ, of course. — “μὴ...βασιλέα.” Compare *Meg.* 6. Here the quotation forms a Colon by itself, standing as object of προσγράψαντες without the Article. — ἐκεῖνος: on *Sym.* 1, b. (p. 38). — φανερώς: because the revolt of Ariobarzanes had been a covert one at first; he was ostensibly at war with other satraps when the decree was passed. Weil. — ἀφιστάτα βασιλείως: for the Rhythm, on *Meg.* 28, a, at end (p. 70). Cf. ὠρμηκε βασιλέως below (11). — τῷ μὲν (τῷ Ἀρ.)...τὴν δέ (τὴν Σ.). For Ariobarzanes, see Curtius, IV, 479; V, 102. Samos, V, 103.

Τέ is liberally placed, as often. E.g. *Lys.* XII. 62, ὑπὲρ τ' ἐμαντοῦ καὶ 10 τῆς πόλεως. Strictly, as τέ stands, the preposition should be repeated. —

**πολεμήσειεν ἄν**, *will fight*; GMT. p. 113, N. In repeating the thought below, it is expressed simply as a general truth, **πολεμοῦσιν**, &c. Here observe the Chiastic arrangement, and note in detail (1) the pointed verbal contrast between **πλεονεκτεῖν** and **ἐλαττοῦνται**, (2) the avoidance of verbal repetition in the inside members **τῶν ἑαυτοῦ** and **ὧν ἐλαττοῦνται**, and (3) the exact repetition in the outside members, **ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν**, twice. The outside members, as usual, hold the gist of the proposition, which is a negative one. — Instead of **ὧν ἐλαττοῦνται** (GMT. p. 131, N. 1), Stobæus, in quoting this passage, gives the regular construction, **ὧν ἂν ἐλαττῶνται**. — **ἀλλ' ἐφίενται μὲν** (**τῶν ἀλλοτρίων**). Chiasmus again, from here on. — The Aorist has the same force in **ἐναντιωθέντας** as in **κωλυθῶσιν**: see GMT. § 20, N. 1 (p. 26), with N. 2 (p. 28).

*The Queen of Caria would not interfere, under the Present Circumstances, to save Rhodes for Persia (11–13).*

- 11 a. **Ὅτι, κτλ.**, when I say *that I believe*, &c. Here there is loose connexion with **ταῦτα**, which, however, like **μικρά**, refers to what follows; that being introduced, with Asyndeton, by **Ἐγὼ νομίζω** (cf. *Sym.* 3). — **οὐδ' Ἀρτεμισία**: the words belong together, the name emphatically placed. — **ἐπὶ**, *in charge of*. Passages containing the *dative* (*Ol.* II. 12) ought not to be cited here. — **νῦν**: as matters *now* stand; i.e. **βασιλέως κακῶς πράττοντος** (12).

b. **Πράττοντος μὲν** (= *εἰ μὲν ἐπραττεν*)... **πράττοντος δέ** (= *εἰ δὲ πράττει*) 12. — **σφόδρ' ἄν πειραθῆναι** has for its main protasis **τῆς πόλεως οὔσης, κτλ.** above; for its connexion with **πράττοντος**, see GMT. § 54, 1 (a), p. 116. — **περιποιῆσαι**: causative of **περιγενέσθαι** (**περιεῖναι** = *surperesse*). *Aph.* I. 60, **ὅσα ἐξ αὐτῶν περιεγίγνετο, ταῦτα προσπεριποιεῖν**. — **πλησίον αὐτῆς διατρίβοντος ἐκείνου**. In the supposed case of his success in Egypt, Ochus would be at home uncomfortably near to Caria. — **εὐεργεσίαν καταθέσθαι**: the metaphor in such phrases (**χάριν καταθέσθαι**, &c.) should not be overlooked. Cf. **χάριν ἀπαιτῶ τὴν τότε**, *Eur. Hec.* 276. — For **ἀποδέχεται**, see GMT. § 34, 2, p. 52. **ἀποδέχεσθαι** (note the Tense), here of the disposition of the King to receive Artemisia as approved successor to Mausolus.

- 12 a. **Ὡς λέγεται**. It is this report of the King's ill success, of which the Athenian assembly is in possession, that relieves **πράττοντος μὲν**, above, of all ambiguity as regards construction. — With **πράττοντος...καὶ διημαρτηκότος, κτλ.** compare **γεγενημένων...καὶ συνεννηοχότων** (9), and other similar couplets.

On the issue of this expedition of Ochus against the Egyptians, Weil quotes Isoc. *Phil.* 101: Συμπαρσκευασάμενος γὰρ δύναμιν ὅσῃν οἶός τ' ἦν πλείστην, καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν οὐ μόνον ἡττηθεὶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγελασθεὶς καὶ δόξας οὔτε βασιλεύειν οὔτε στρατηγεῖν ἄξιος εἶναι.

**b.** Ἑγείσθαι: subject Ἀρτεμισίαν (11), the connexion of the members of the period being close. It represents ἡγεῖται. — ὅπερ ἔστιν, referring forward; *as is the fact*. Cf. *Meg.* 12. — ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν...τῆς δέ, κτλ. Only more explicit (for the sake of bringing in χρησίμην, &c.) than οὐδέν ἄλλ' ἢ τῆς, κτλ. would have been. For ἄλλο, see G. § 160, 2, p. 215. With ἐπιτείχισμα, χρησίμην is forgotten. For this noun and the objective genitive which depends on it, compare *Phil.* I. 5, (Φίλιππος) Ἀθηναίοις ἔχουσι τοσαῦτ' ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας.

**c.** Δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἂν...βούλεισθαι (Ἀρτεμισία). — For μὴ φανερώς αὐτῆς ἐνδόουσης, instead of the regular μὴ φανερώς ἐνδοῦσα, see GMT. p. 224, N. 5. The purpose here is evidently to put the three subjects, ὑμᾶς... αὐτῆς...κείνον, all *objectively*. — οὖν, resumptive. — οὐδέ, *not at all*. — ἂν δ' ἄρα τοῦτο ποιῇ, or if she *does*.

Ἐπεὶ: the common elliptical use (cf. *Sym.* 37). 'But enough of Artemisia — her case is clear — *for*' καὶ βασιλέα γ' οὐκ οἶμαι τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ῥοδίων ἀντιποιήσεσθαι. Thus Dem. might have proceeded, had he seen fit merely to reaffirm what is implied in his reasoning above (10); as the passage stands, a modification of the expected form enters with ὅ τι μὲν, though βασιλέα may still be regarded as grammatical object of οἶδα (Anticipation). — μὲν, *though*...μέντοι, *yet*.

The apparent modesty of expression is really only a means of taking a bolder position than ever. Conceding the fallibility of the arguments previously advanced (9, 10), the Orator affirms outright the expediency of testing at once and at all hazards the disposition of the King in the premises. The rhetoric is as admirable as it is characteristic.

*Of the Rhodians only the Demus, at the Best, may be supported by Athens; and That, only now it has Learned Wisdom, and in the Interest of Athens herself* (14–16).

**a.** Οὐ μὴν οὐδέ: again below (15). On *Sym.* 31, a (p. 49). — For 14 παρήνεο' ἂν, see GMT. p. 101, N. 5. Cf. *Sym.* 37, ἔθηκα. — τούτους (ἐλέσθαι): emphatic — i.e. not merely αὐτούς (*Meg.* 19, 21) — referring to the Rhodian Oligarchs, τοὺς νῦν ὄντας ἐν Ῥόδῳ, as distinct from the banished Demus. *Their* cause, says Dem., might not be supported by Athens, even if they held their position without foreign aid. To take up with *Rhodians* at all is unpleasant, but to reject the Popular Party

when it has appealed to us against the Oligarchy, will look like making a choice in favor of the latter. But it is easy to see what were to be expected from *them*, if they should offer to make friends with us.

**b. Οὐδ' εἰ πάντα, κτλ.,** *no not if, &c.* A secondary protasis, not coördinate with **εἰ εἶχον** (GMT. § 55, 1, p. 119). — **πολιτῶν** seems to be used significantly, as if the others, those under immediate discussion, were themselves not πολῖται. Cf. πολιτεία = δημοκρατία (20), &c. — For the second **τούτους** (and **τούτο**), see on ταῦτα (1) b (p. 73). — **μηδετέροις**: i.e. neither the more moderate citizens (οὓς προσέλαβον), nor the Demus itself. μη- (not οὐ-), to give the thought a general turn: οἱ ἂν μηδετέροις (friends nor foes) πιστῶς κεχρημένοι ὦσιν, οὐ βέβαιοι. — **οὐδ' ἂν ὑμῖν...γενέσθαι, κτλ.**: if it should be suggested that you take up with them, that is.

- 15 **a. (Καὶ) ταῦτα,** *all this*; namely, what I have said and am saying, κελεύων 'Ροδίους ἐλευθεροῦν. — **εἰ ταῦτ' ἀμφοτέρ' ἦν**: εἰ καὶ ἐπροξένουν καὶ ἰδίᾳ τις αὐτῶν ξένος ἦν μοι. — **ἐπεὶ 'Ροδίοις γε**, for as to *the Rhodians*. Cf. ἐπεὶ καὶ βασιλέα γε, above (13). 'Ροδίοις is antithetic to ὑμῖν, and the dative, standing where it does, is due to the influence of this antithesis. [To say that 'Ροδίοις is governed by γεγεννημένων would be too purely grammatical an explanation, although the former word bears to the latter much the same relation that βασιλέα does to οἶδα in the passage compared. Weil, who objects to ἐπεὶ and finds 'Ροδίοις obscure, would perhaps have judged differently, had he duly considered the effect of the Pauses: he prints 'Ροδίοις γ', εἰ, κτλ. and (13) βασιλέα γ' ὃ τι. But ἐπεὶ is wholly in place here: 'expedient for you, I say,' ἐπεὶ 'Ροδίοις γ' ὃ τι συμφέρει, τοῦτ' οὐχὶ σκοποῦμεν. W.'s conjecture, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ 'Ροδίοις, has the Rhythm against it.]

**b. Εἰ οἷόν τε τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν, κτλ.** Cf. Meg. 18, εἰ οἷόν τ' εἰπεῖν, &c. — **συγχαίρω** (see on σύννοιδε, Sym 40, a, p. 54) **τῶν γεγεννημένων**, *I share in the general satisfaction at what has happened* to them. — **ὑμῖν**, after Ἑλλήσι καὶ βελτίοσιν αὐτῶν, is explanatory of those words. Not *who*, but *what* the parties were, is the important matter — **δούλοις** (on Sym. 31, c, p. 50) **δουλεύουσιν**: slaves to slaves. Compare the common saying, δοῦλος καὶ ἐκ δούλων. — **οὓς...παρείνται**. This of course had not been done by the Rhodian Demus; but the Orator holds that Demus responsible for all acts that followed its first unworthy step (τοῦ κομίσασθαι τὰ ὑμέτερ' ὑμῖν φθονήσαντες).

- 16 **Συνενήνοχε ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς**: and therefore you can better depend on them hereafter, Dem. means to intimate, — if they have really been taught

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15 αὐτῶν συναγορεύοντι τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, (TOURNIER, WEIL, BLASS) st. συναγορεύοντι τῇ σωτηρίᾳ αὐτῶν (h.).

wisdom. — **εὖ..πράττοντες...εὖ φρονήσαι**: note the assonance and point. For the tense of (**εὖ**) **φρονήσαι** (= *σώφρονες γενέσθαι*), see on (22) a. — **ὄντες Ῥόδιοι**, *Rhodians as they are*: with contempt. Differently *ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι* below (23). — **εἰ τύχοιεν** (sc. *σωφρονέστεροι γινόμενοι*), *if such a thing be possible*: added to **τάχ' ἄν**, to excuse still farther the apparent temerity of such a supposition. — For **τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου**, see G. § 168, N. 1, p. 220. — **καὶ ὑμεῖς...ἐξηπάτησθε**: as, for example, by Theramenes and his associates. For the case of **πολλά**, see the Note on *Meg.* 13, a (p. 63). — **αὐτοί**: thus notwithstanding **δίκαιον..εἶναι**. The impersonal construction is overridden by the personal. Cf. *Cor. Trier.* 1, *φημὶ δεῖν αὐτὸς στεφανοῦσθαι*. *F. L.* 235, *ἡγούμεν ἐν τούτοις πρῶτον αὐτὸς περιεῖναι δεῖν αὐτῶν καὶ μεγαλοψυχότερος φαίνεσθαι*.

The concluding sentence is so couched as to relieve the apparent harshness of the foregoing remarks without weakening their effect of ingeniously parrying the charge of interested partisanship. Demosthenes could hardly have spared such an ending without doing himself injustice.

*War with Oligarchies helps the cause of Free Government; Peace with them is Dangerous* (17, 18).

Observe the alliteration in the second Colon. (*Ar. Nub.* 6, Ἀπόλοιω 17 *δῆτ', ὦ πόλεμε, πολλῶν οὔνεκα*.) — **μέν...ἀλλά** — **ἐκατέρους**: *τοὺς δημοκρατουμένους ἢ τοὺς ὀλιγαρχουμένους*. — **τῶν**, the oft-occurring. — **οὐ δυναθέντων** (sc. *τῶν ιδιωτῶν*, from *ιδίων*) **δημοσίᾳ διαλύσασθαι**. When the individuals concerned have proved unable to settle their differences by the methods prescribed in the treaties between their respective States. Weil. — Compare with what is said here *Sym.* 32, what War with the Barbarian is about.

The participles **δημοκρατουμένους**, *under democracies*, and **ὀλιγαρχου- 18**  
**μένους**, *under oligarchies*, limit the predicates **πολεμεῖν** and **φίλους εἶναι**. Predicative in the same way are **ἐλευθέρους ὄντας** and **ὀλιγαρχουμένους** below, *αὐτούς* being understood as object of **πρός**. — **Πρὸς μὲν...νομίζω ~**  
**πρὸς δὲ...νομίζω**. Anaphora and Antistrophe. See on *Meg.* 29 (p. 71), *χρῶνται*. — For **ὀλίγοι πολλοῖς** brought together, see on *Sym.* 31, b (p. 49). The same juxtaposition is effected for **ἄρχειν** and **μετ' ἰσηγορίας ζῆν** by the Chiastic arrangement, *ζητοῦντες...ἡρημένοις*. Hence the necessity of *τοῖς*, the only Article in the passage, to show where **μετ. ἰσηγ. ζ.** belongs as an attributive. **ἄρχειν** is of course significant here; where there is *ἰσηγορία*, there is no such thing as *ἄρχειν* or *ἄρχεσθαι*.

*Athens should treat Oppressed Democracies as she would Herself be treated in case her Liberty were Threatened* (19–21).

- 19 **Δι' ὀλιγαρχίας.** The common idiomatic use of the preposition. Cf. *διὰ φιλίας*, *δι' ἐχθρας ἰέναι*, &c. 'To go *the way* of Oligarchy.' — **συστήσεται**: a true Middle. *συν-* here of consolidation. — **εἰσούν**: the subject readily suggests itself (*οἱ δι' ὀλιγαρχίας ἅπαντα συστήσασθαι βουλόμενοι*), and the personal construction is effective. — **ἐξάγοντας**: *ἐκ τῆς δουλείας*, that is. Cf. *Soph. El.* 1509 (quoted by Weil), *Δι' ἐλευθερίας μόλις ἐξῆλθες*.
- 20 **Αὐτῶν** begins a Colon matching that begun by the antithetic **κοινούς** in the *δέ* member of the period. — **ἡγεῖσθαι**: parallel with **νομίζειν** in construction. By postponing the leading verb **παραινῶ**, as is done, the connexion of the two members is made closer, and the relative weight of the second greater than usual. The centre of gravity of the period is thrown forward, so to speak. Observe the emphasis which **παραινῶ νομίζειν** effects by displacement. Compare the placing of *ὀλίγον δέω λέγειν* above (19), and see on *Sym.* 25, a, at end (p. 46). — For **πολιτείας**, on (29) b.
- 21 **Δίκαιον**: *οὐ συμφέρον μόνον*. The argument of Philanthropy comes in to cap that of Expediency. — **εἴ ποτε | ὅ μὴ γένοιτο**. The parenthetic wish should form a Colon by itself. — **Καὶ..εἰ..τις φήσει**; *even if it shall be said*. The apodosis here, **οὐκ ἐπιτήδειος..ἐφησθῆναι**, is virtually future. For **καὶ** (*γάρ*), on *Sym.* 30, a (p. 48). Compare (16) with what is said here. — **ἄδηλον τὸ μέλλον, κτλ.** sounds like Greek Tragedy.

*If Athens shrink from Saving the Unfortunate, she falls behind Other States in that which has been her Own especial Glory* (22–24).

- 22 a. **Πολλάκις ἐνταυθί, κτλ.** There is something gained by thus taking a Premise from the common-places of the Bema. Cf. *Meg.* 4, *εἰ τι δεῖ τοῖς εἰρημένοισι πολλάκις παρ' ὑμῖν λόγοις τεκμήρασθαι*. — **συνεβουλήθησαν**. The Aorist means, 'they fell in with our wish': the Imperfect would have meant, 'they shared it' (GMT. § 19, N. 1, p. 24). The principle of the "Ingressive" Aorist is one of more extensive application than the superficial reader apprehends. It is one of those refinements of the language that require different English words to be used as equivalents of different forms of the same Greek word: *ἔχειν* and *σχεῖν* (*have* and *get*), *δοκεῖν* and *δόξαι* (*opine* and *decide*), *ἐθέλειν* and *ἐθελῆσαι* (*be willing* and *consent*), are among the more familiar examples. — **τινός**. When more than half the citizens of Athens were in exile, relates Diodo-

rus (XIV. 6), first the Argives and then the Thebans, defied the Spartan decree demanding that the exiles be surrendered to the Thirty from all parts of Hellas on penalty of a fine of five talents. In Lysias (XIII. 47) the speaker says to the representatives of the restored Demus, *συλλήβδην ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξηλάθητε*.

**b.** Δόξαν ἔχοντας τοῦ σώζειν τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας αἰεὶ. Cf. *Meg.* 15. Xen. *Hell.* VI. v. 45, ἐξήλουν (ἐγὼ) τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ὅτι πάντας καὶ τοὺς ἀδικουμένους καὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους ἐνθάδε καταφεύγοντας ἐπικουρίας δεομένους ἤκουον τυγχάνειν. The Athenians had fairly earned this reputation: it had grown out of a distinctively Athenian idea, with which Demosthenes came to identify himself both by instinct and circumstance. The plain historical trait is not effaced by its conspicuous exceptions. Οὔτε πόλις ἐστὶν οὐδεμία ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ οὔτε μόναρχος οὐτ' ἔθνος μεγαλοψυχότερον τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων.

**c.** (Χείρους) Ἀργείων: emphatic. — ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πρόξῃ: ἐν τῷ τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας σώζειν. — οἰκοῦντες and ὀρῶντες, although they sustain the same logical relation (that of Opposition) to the leading verb, are not strictly coördinate; the former is nearer to it than the latter is. 'Dwelling as they did under the very hand of Sparta, when they saw, &c., did not shrink.' — ἀλλὰ καί, but on the contrary: καί, with all that follows in the sentence. — πρέσβεις: object of κρίνειν. — ὥς φασιν. Dem. would not care to be taken for a student of History, or any other kind of a Scholar. Cf. on *Meg.* 22, at end (p. 67).

**a.** Εἰτ' οὐκ αἰσχρόν, κτλ.; "This is one of the commonest modes of 23 stating the rhetorical ἐνθύμημα (in the narrower sense, in which it was used by the Greek Rhetoricians, of a rhetorical conclusion drawn from opposites), in which the clause with μέν, expressing some fact real or assumed, is subordinate to the other, and it is asked whether it would not be monstrous and a thing to be ashamed of, if with such facts before them, they were to act differently in the case supposed or under discussion; hence called 'argumentum ex contrario' or 'contrarium' by Cornificius." Heslop, on *F. L.* 132. — For οὐκ (ἐφοβήθη), see GMT. § 47, 3, N. (second part), p. 88: for φοβήσεσθε, §§ 56, p. 120; 49, 1, N. 3, p. 93.

**b.** Ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς καιροῖς: καιρός is itself no weak word, without the pronoun. 'In those days, when the Spartan power was at its height.' Observe the separation of ἀρχήν and βῶμην, with the usual effect. — ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι: i.e. something more than Ἀργεῖοι. Cf. *Aristocr.* 109, εἰτ' Ὀλύμπιοι μὲν ἴσασι τὸ μέλλον προορᾶν, ὑμεῖς δ' ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτο τοῦτ' οὐχὶ ποιήσετε; The phrase here is related, rhetorically, to Ἀργείων as βάρβαρον, &c. is to Λακεδαιμονίων. — βάρβαρον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα γυναῖκα. It is the ambiguity in gender of the adjective that makes this



climax possible (differently, *δούλην ἄνθρωπον*, *Lys.* IV. 19). 'A foreigner, and a woman at that.' In *βάρβαρον* Dem. appeals to the sentiments of his hearers as *Ἕλληνες*, as frequently in the Philippic speeches (against that 'pestilent Macedonian,' *Phil.* III. 31): for an appeal of the sort made in *γυναῖκα* there was not often (in those days) so good an opportunity as this.

c. *Καὶ μὴν*: introducing another à fortiori argument. — *ἔχουσιν ἂν εἰπεῖν*: namely, if a comparison should be instituted between their course and ours on these two similar occasions. Cf. *Sym.* 30, *Meg.* 15. — *βασί-  
λέα*: dropping for the sake of the argument the notion of Artemisia being the opponent. She would come in among the *δούλων*, below. For this word, see (15) end; *Sym.* 31, end: and cf. *ὁ κείνων δεσπότης* below (27). — By the *πονηρότατοι* and the *προδόται* are meant Lysander and his associates throughout Hellas, "armed with an unprecedented command of Persian treasure, and seconded by ascendent factions in all the allied cities." The history of the Decadarchies justifies the epithets. For *προδότας*, cf. *Sym.* 35. — *ἢ οὐδαμῶς ἄλλως*, or not at all, we should say: illogical idiom. Cf. *οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων*, *Sym.* 9. Weil calls attention to the incongruity between *ἢ...ἢ* and the beginning *εἰ...κεκράτηκε*, which is idiomatic again, not a defect of style.

- 24 a. *Ἀμ' αὐτὸν τὴν τε πόλιν, κτλ.* Though it was one monarch (Darius II) who supplied the Lacedæmonians with the means of finally conquering Athens, and another, his son Artaxerxes Mnemon, who had to fight for his kingdom with Cyrus and the 10,000 Greeks, there is yet no inexactness, as Weil remarks, in ignoring this difference of persons: "The King never dies." Dem. means that the King of Persia would do well generally not to disturb the Balance of Power in Hellas: hegemonies prove disastrous to him. Compare the reasoning in *Sym.* 32, *οὐδ' ἐκείνῳ συμφέρει, κτλ.*

b. *Πολλάκις ὀλιγορῶντας* (○○○○). Blass seems needlessly to object to this passage on the score of the *sense*; *πολλάκις* is used as at the beginning of (22). — The ellipses here — of the participles with *ἀξίου* and *ἐχθρόν*, and the infinitive with *προέληται* — do not appear to me "harsh." — For *οὐκ*, see on (23) a, at end (p. 83). — *παρατάξομεθα*: not equivalent to the subjunctive in a question of doubt, but a direct future conclusion in interrogative form.

All that is said here is quite in harmony with the views advanced by the Orator in his speech On the Symmories.

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23 *ἡττηνται Λακεδαιμονίων*, (BENSELER, BLASS) st. *ἡττηνται ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων* (h., rh.).

*Those who would have you forego your Just Claims, in the Name of Justice, offer a Weak and Unmanly Policy (25–29).*

**Πρὸς ὑμᾶς** and **πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους**: not with **λέγειν**, but with **ἄλλων** 25 and **ὑμῶν** (τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς ὑμᾶς δίκαια and τὰ ὑμέτερα πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους δίκαια). Hence the arrangement. Cf. *Sym.* 37, μὴ πρόφασιν δῶμεν βασιλεῖ τοῦ τὰ δίκαι' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ζητεῖν. Some of us can say a better word, observes Dem., for the claims others have on Athens, than for the claims Athens has on others. It had probably been urged in the debate, says Weil, that any intervention in the affairs of Rhodes would be a violation of the treaty made at the close of the Social War; whereby Athens had agreed to respect the independence of the states thus separated from her. — **ὥς** = ἐπεὶ. — **αὐτόν**: agreeing with the indefinite subject of **διδάσκειν**, and opposed to **ὑμᾶς**: like **αὐτοὶ..πρῶτοι**, above. — **ἐσκέφθαι**: *to have studied* = to have ready.

**2. Βυζαντίῳ | οὐδεὶς.** Blass. **ἐν B.** is antithetic to **παρ' ὑμῖν** above (25). The former word has hitherto been suspected on account of the hiatus. Cf. on *Meg.* 28, a; 30, b (pp. 70, 71). — **ὁ διδάξων** = ὅστις διδάξει. The Article is idiomatic: cf. οἱ πεισόμενοι below (27). *F. L.* 306, πέμπειν τινὰς...οἵτινες κατηγορήσουσιν: *ib.* 310 (stating the same thing again), πέμπειν τοὺς κατηγορήσοντας. — **ἐκείνους**: *them*, there; as you have so many to instruct *you* here, what not to do. — For **αὐτήν**, see G. § 156, p. 212. Observe that with the next verb **ἤ** becomes subject again. Below (27) we have **ὧν...καὶ περὶ ὧν**, as in English.

**δ. Οὐδαμόθεν**, *on no grounds*. Cf. *Mid.* 196, οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδαμόθεν 26 σοι προσήκων ἔλεος. — **προσῆκεν**: the Imperfect from the assimilating force of **εἵχετε**, apparently. — **μηδέ, κτλ.**, *and not to, &c.* — For **οὔσαν**, see GMT. § 16, 2, p. 17. — **ὥς**: preposition. — **συντελῇ ποιεῖν καὶ ὀρίζειν, κτλ.** (Couplet). Cf. on *Meg.* 25, b (p. 69), *μηδέ*. — **Βυζαντίων**: st. *ἐαυτῶν*, as explained on *ἐκείνων*, *Sym.* 30, a (p. 48). Possessive genitive in the predicate, with **ὀρίζειν**. The emphatic **Βυζαντίων** and **τούτων** (τῶν ἐν Σηλυμβρία, the city under immediate discussion) balance each other. — **τὰς πόλεις**: the cities of Hellas generally. The Peace of Antalcidas is meant. — **εἶναι**: not in Indirect Discourse.

**Εἰσὶ δ', ὧ, st.** εἰσὶ δέ τινες, ὧ, Σ (rh.). For the omission of *τινές*, cf. *Ol.* 25 III. 15, καὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν τὰ δέοντα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰσὶν, ὧ ἄ. 'Α., *δυνάμενοι*. Blass.

**προσῆκεν, Σ.** *προσῆκει, vulg.*

26

**Βυζαντίων**, DOBREE, BLASS. *Βυζάντιον, vulg.* (rh.). Σ has *Βυζαντίους*, but **ὀρίζειν** (not *ὀρίζεσθαι*) seems to need something to complete the predication. — **τούτων, vulg.** *τούτου, Σ.*

27 **Οὐδέ (M.)** goes back to **οὐδεὶς** (26), over **μηδέ** and **μή**, and the interrogative form is wholly given up. Two examples are presented in the whole passage (26, 27), those of Byzantium and Caria; cf. **ἀμφοτέροις** below. Observe (and preserve) the order of words here: *nor had M...., nor has A...., anybody to instruct them, &c.* — **καὶ ἄλλας ἐτέρας πόλεις**, *and other cities still*; cf. Eur. *Orest.* 345, **οἶκον ἄλλον ἕτερον**: *Suppl.* 573, **χάτερον ἄλλους πόνους**. Weil. Even **τρίτον ἕτερον**, *Aristocr.* 74. — **εἰ δ' ἄρα καί**, or if any one *does*, &c. Note **ἄρα**, and **καί** concessive, used together. — **λέγει** is chosen as less formal than **διδάσκει**. — **ἀλλά γε**: like **ἀλλ' οὖν γε**, *Meg.* 31; cf. **γέ** alone, *Sym.* 34. — **τούτοις**: referring to the distributive **τις**.

28 a. **Ἐγὼ δέ**, *for my part*: in opposition to the sort of speakers criticised (25). — **μέν...οὐ μὴν ἀλλά**: so again below (32); *Meg.* 2, 3. — **οὔτοι**: Byzantians, Carians, &c. — **κατάγειν**: causative of **κατιέναι**, **κατέρχεσθαι** (**κατελθεῖν**). Ar. *Ran.* 1165, **φεύγων ἀνὴρ ἤκει τε καὶ κατέρχεται**. — For the assonance, **προσῆκειν οἶμαι παραινεῖν κατάγειν**, compare *Ol.* I. 1, **προσῆκει προθύμως ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν τῶν βουλομένων συμβουλεύειν**. — **πάντων μὲν...ἀπάντων δέ**. Anaphora varied, as often in the Tragic style (especially by Sophocles). E.g. *Ant.* 898,

Φίλη μὲν ἤξειν πατρί, προσφιλὴς δὲ σοί.

*O. T.* 133,

Ἐπαξίως γὰρ Φοῖβος, ἀξίως δὲ σύ.

b. **Πάντων μὲν...ῥημηκότων, ἀπάντων δέ...παρασκευαζομένων, κτλ.** The structure as in (11), where see Note, b (p. 78). — **αἰσχρόν**: Weil well observes that this is not the same as if the Orator had added **ἂν ἦν**: there is something gained by the vagueness of construction. From the nature of the case, however, **ῥημηκότων** would still be felt as = **εἰ ῥημηκότες ἦσαν**. Cf. [Lys.] *Or. Fun.* 78, **Εἰ...οἶόν τ' ἦν...ἀθανάτους εἶναι, ἀξιον τοῖς ζῶσι τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον πενθεῖν τοὺς τεθνεῶτας**. Plat. *Gorg.* 521 D, **οὐδὲν ἄτοπον, εἰ ἀποθάνοιμι**. Dem. *Sym.* 27, end. Even when the protasis is thus expressed in full, the thought is modified and the style seriously affected by the abbreviated apodosis. We should not *think* of any ellipse at all in such cases; if somebody happens to be making us *translate*, that is another matter. — **τὰ δίκαια προτείνεσθαι, μηδενὸς ἀντιλαμβανομένους**: preferred for rhetorical reasons to **μηδενὸς ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, τὰ δίκαια προτεινομένους**.

The apparent readiness to sacrifice justice to expediency we have met before; *Meg.* 8, **δίκαιον μὲν οὐ, συγχωρῶ δέ, κτλ.** There the concession was a device to give weight to a following argument which showed the absurdity of adopting the concession; the Orator remaining practically

on the side of right. Here he maintains the intrinsic right of the course he recommends, but adds his *καὶ εἰ μὴ δίκαιον ἦν, κτλ.*, to meet the pretended champions of justice on their own ground; proceeding to examine whether any such principles as those which they urge are recognized or recognizable in international dealings. Demosthenes had a keen sense of right and wrong, but his ethical system was wholly an inductive one.

**a.** For *Εἰσι*, on (2) *a* (p. 74). Note the Asyndeton. — *διτταί* = *διναί* 29 here. Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 919, *ὅρᾱν μοι δύο μὲν ἡλίους δοκῶ, Δισσὰς δὲ Θῆβας*. There is only one *Θῆβαι*, but the victim of Bacchus thinks he sees two. — *ᾧς...ᾧς...καὶ...ταύτας ᾧν*. The structure is liberal. Formally we might have had *ἐκεῖναι ᾧς...ᾧς...καὶ αὗται ᾧς...ᾧν*. The change from relative to demonstrative, and the ellipse (sc. *ἐποιήσαντο* from *ἐποίησατο*), are both idiomatic. — *ᾧν δὴ κατηγοροῦσιν*: *δὴ* (German *ja*), significantly in the contrast with *ᾧς...ἐγκωμιάζουσι*. 'Which is equally condemned.' — Note the displacement of *ἀμφοτέραις*.

For the so-called Peace of Cimon, Grote V, 451 (*Eng.*), 336 (*Am.*); Curtius II, 456. See also, if possible, Heslop on *F. L.* 273, Sandys on Isoc. *Paneg.* 118.

**b.** *Τὰ ἴδια δίκαια* are the mutual rights of individuals in a given state; *τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ δίκαια*, the mutual rights of the Greek states, or rights of Greeks with states not Hellenic. — *πολιτείας*. Aristotle, *Pol.* III. 7. 3, *Ὅταν τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύηται συμφέρον, καλεῖται τὰ κοινὸν ὄνομα πασῶν τῶν πολιτειῶν, πολιτεία*. The Philosopher, however, regarded *δημοκρατία* as a degenerate form of *πολιτεία*. In Dem. and the Orators generally (*Harpocratio* s. v. *πολιτεία*) the two words are synonymous. — *κοινήν, κτλ.* Cf. *Mid.* 67, *τῶν ἰσῶν καὶ τῶν δικαίων ἕκαστος ἡγεῖται ἑαυτῷ μετεῖναι ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ*. — *τῶν δ' Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων, κτλ.* Here is the explanation of what is observed above (28), *ᾧπαντας πρὸς τὴν παρούσαν δύναμιν τῶν δικαίων ἀξιουμένους*. What is fair dealing in Hellenic matters, says Dem., must always be largely a question of circumstances: witness the different standards in the two famous treaties with Persia, one made by us when Hellas was powerful, the other by the Lacedæmonians when she was weak. If from purely theoretical considerations of justice we fail to maintain our strength, we shall fall a prey to our less scrupulous and more practical neighbors.

*You allow the Disaffected at Home to hinder you from Executing your Will as the Champions of Free Government Everywhere (30–33).*

- 30 **Τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν.** Dropping entirely the supposition of injustice in the matter. — **ἐγνωκέναι** and **πράξαι** are opposed. 'You have the *mind* already' — this the Orator takes for granted, cf. (1), — 'How are you to have the power to *execute* it?' — **Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα, κτλ.,** *But you have it, if, &c.* For the tense, cf. *Sym.* 27. — **ἂν ὑποληφθῆτε, κτλ.** Note the Aorist. 'If you shall once come to be regarded, &c.' With all this compare (2), **ἂν ἂ χρῆ βουλευέσθῃτε, ... (4), ποιήσετε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι τοῦτο ποιεῖσθαι σύμβολον τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας, ἐὰν ὑμῖν ὥσι φίλοι· κτλ.** — **κυρίοις τῶν ἀγαθῶν:** cf. **πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν κύριοι, Sym.** 36. To have things as one pleases, is the idea.

[It does not seem to me that there is any organic logical defect in this passage. Surely Demosthenes, like anybody else, might find himself at times constrained to say 'The way to do it is to *do* it': especially where it is assumed, as is plainly done in this paragraph, that everything depends upon a vote. The Athenians only had to hold up their hands, and shut their ears to the *ὀλιγαρχικῶς πολιτευόμενοι*.]

- 31 **Ὁ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις,** sc. **ὦν.** Weil. — **καὶ πρόσθε ἕτερος:** vigorously expressed, at the expense of exact symmetry. Some inferior Mss. have **πρόσθε ἕτερος,** with symmetry, but against the Rhythm. See on *Meg.* 32 (p. 72). — **πρότερος:** the struggle begins at home. Compare the Remarks on *Meg.* 4, a (p. 59). — **Ὅταν,** *so long as.* Observe the arrangement in this clause.
- 32 **Μέντοι, now.** — **τῆς πολιτείας,** of *statesmanship*: not concrete, notwithstanding the Article (= τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι). **ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ,** below, is concrete, but not specific (*in the state*).
- 33 The transition from (**τάξιν**) **ταχθεῖσαν** to (**τάξιν**) **παραδεδομένην** helps the Metaphor. Cf. *Ol.* III. 36, **τῆς τάξεως ἦν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι...κατέλιπον.** The figurative use of **τάξις** is exceedingly common in Dem., and elsewhere. Cf. *Sym.* 35. — **ἀτίμους τοῦ συμβουλεύειν:** see G. § 180, N. 1, p. 228. **Τὸ συμβουλεύειν** is a *τιμή*, one of the **κοινά (μηδενὸς τῶν κοινῶν μετέχειν).** — **ποιεῖσθαι:** middle voice, as the reflexive shows. — **τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν...ὁμωμοκότας νομίζειν:** cf. Xen. *Anab.* II. v. 39, **ὁμόσαντες ἡμῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομιεῖν.** The verb **νομίζω** is constant in the formula. — **εὐνουστάτους, ...πιστοτάτους ἡγεῖσθε:** the structure as in (20), **ἡγεῖσθαι, κτλ.** See Note (p. 82).

30 Ἔστι, Σ. Ἔσται, *vulg.*

33 νομίζειν, (VOEMEL, WEIL) st. νομίζετε.

To Demosthenes the *ὀλιγαρχικῶς πολιτευόμενοι* at Athens are all *μισθωτοί, ἐχθροί, προδόται*. It is they who stand in the way of the City making herself the head-quarters of free government everywhere (4, 30). To them the Orator alludes in the foregoing paragraph (25, &c.), where he chose for the time being to treat their pleading as sincere; that was the intellectual, this (30–33) is the sentimental attack on them. Of the long series of impressive passages on hirelings in Dem., this is the earliest one spoken by himself in the Assembly; an earlier one, however, by his hand, is *Aristocr.* 146: *Εἰ τις ὑμᾶς ἔροιτο, τί πονηρότατον νομίζετε τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντων ἐθνῶν (classes of men), οὔτε τοὺς γεωργοὺς οὔτε τοὺς ἐμπόρους οὔτε τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀργυρείων οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιτε, ἀλλ' εἰ τοὺς ἐπὶ μισθῷ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν εἰωθότας εἴποι τις, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι συμφήσαιτ' ἂν ἅπαντες. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτου καλῶς ἐγνώκατε, ἔπειτ' οὐκέτ' ὀρθῶς τὸ λοιπόν. Οὐς γὰρ αὐτοὶ πονηροτάτους νομίζετε πάντων, τούτοις περὶ τοῦ ποῖόν τιν' ἕκαστον χρὴ νομίζειν πεπιστεύκατε.*

### Ἐπίλογος (34, 35).

**Ἄλλα γάρ:** this elliptical phrase often in conclusions. — *εὐρεῖν...* 34 *εὐρεῖν*. Antistrophe (see on *Meg.* 29, p. 71). — *ἔργον* = *χαλεπόν*, as often. — Note the Chiasmus in each member of the first Period: *κατηγορήσει... ἐπιπλήξει* and *ὁποῖον...ποίας*. — *μὲν...ἀλλά*. — *οὐδὲ τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ*, not even the present occasion, critical as it is; cf. (2).

**Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν.** Cf. *Meg.*, at end, 32. — *λέγει*, enumerates. — *ἀναθεῖναι*. 35 The *τροπαῖα* were consecrated to the gods, in particular to *Ζεὺς τροπαῖος*. *Soph. Ant.* 143, *ἔλιπον Ζηνὶ τροπαίῳ πάγχαλκα τέλη*. Weil. — *ἵνα καὶ μιμήσθε, κτλ.* As in an apothegm attributed to Isocrates, *...ὥν τὰς δόξας ζηλοῖς, τούτων καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ πράξης*.

The Periclean spirit is in this Conclusion. *Thuc.* II. 43, *σκοποῦντας μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ τὴν ὠφελίαν, ἣν ἂν τις πρὸς οὐδὲν χειρόν αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς εἰδότας μηκύνει, λέγων ὅσα ἐν τῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνεσθαι ἀγαθὰ ἐνεστίν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωμένους καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅταν ὑμῖν μεγάλη δόξη εἶναι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι τολμῶντες καὶ γιγνώσκοντες τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰσχυνόμενοι ἄνδρες αὐτὰ ἐκτήσαντο.*



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**Emphasis**, *S.* 4 (39); 10 (41); 24, b (46); *M.* 1 (57); 16, a (65); 17 (66); 24, b (68); 27, a, end (70); *R.* 9, a (77); 20 (82); 23, b (83); 29, a, end (87).

**Enlargement** of argument, *M.* 20 (67).

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— style (39, top).

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